

THE
SACRED CALENDAR
OF
PROPHECY
OR
A DISSERTATION ON THE PROPHECIES,
WHICH TREAT OF THE
GRAND PERIOD OF SEVEN TIMES,
*AND ESPECIALLY OF ITS SECOND MOIETY OR THE LATTER
THREE TIMES AND A HALF.*

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RECTOR OF LONG-NEWTON.

For the true account of *Times* in Scripture, we must have recourse to that SACRED CALENDAR and GREAT ALMANACK OF PROPHECY, the four kingdoms of Daniel: which are a prophetic chronology of *Times* measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms. Mede's *Apost. of the Latter Times*, chap. xii. Works, book iii. p. 634.

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BOOK III.



AN EXPOSITION OF THE FOUR PROPHECIES,
RECORDED BY DANIEL, WHICH RELATE
TO THE PERIOD OF THE SEVEN TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

THE VISION OF THE GREAT METALLIC IMAGE.

THROUGHOUT the whole region of the East, and the same remark applies to the Thebais of Egypt, the humour has prevailed of constructing and worshipping enormous colossal images. These, under some one of his many appellations, were usually dedicated to the great universal Father of pagan mythology, who was venerated in conjunction with the Sun.

Of such worship we have a striking instance recorded in the book of Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar, strongly attached to the dominant superstition of his country, is said to have erected in the plain of Dura a gigantic image, the height of which was about ninety feet, while its breadth was nine feet. These proportions intimate, that the image stood upon a pillar or pedestal ; so that ninety feet was the height, not simply of the statue, but of the whole mass conjointly. It was doubtless a colossal representation of Mithras or Sacya or the solar divinity : and those, who refused to worship it, were forthwith consigned to the sacred fire which blazed before it. Statues of scarcely inferior dimensions may still be seen both in Asia and in Egypt ; some

in a standing, some in a sitting, and some in a recumbent, posture: but they have all been constructed under the influence of the same theological principle¹.

Another striking feature in the ancient religious system of the Pagans was the fable of the four ages. The classical writers commonly distinguish these four successive periods, as the ages of gold and silver and brass and iron: but the Hindoos describe the fourth of them, as an age of earth or clay. In the remarkable mythology of this last people, the great universal Father Menu, who, as identified with the Sun, was the person represented by the colossal image, is supposed to preside, either visibly or invisibly, over all the four ages: whence, as a king was esteemed his immediate representative, *he* also is described, as inseparably connected with them, and as reigning through them all².

¹ See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book iv. chap. 5. § XXIX. 3. (4.)

² The Hindoos, having established their period of seventy one divine ages as the reign of each Menu, yet thinking it incongruous to place a holy personage in times of impurity, insist, that the Menu reigns only in every golden age and disappears in the three human ages that follow it, continuing to dive and emerge like a water-fowl till the close of his Manwantara. Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 126. All the ages, called *Satya*, *Treta*, *Dwapara*, and *Kali*, depend on the conduct of the king; who is declared in turn to represent each of those four ages. Sleeping, he is the Kaliage; waking, he is the Dwapara: exerting himself in action, the Treta: living virtuously, the Satya. Instit. of Menu, chap. ix. p. 284. See my Origin of Pagan

In accordance with these ideas is framed the vision of the great metallic image, as presented to the sleeping imagination of Nebuchadnezzar : nor could any thing be more strictly appropriate than the adoption of such machinery.

The subject of the vision was *the paramount dominance of apostasy from the true God* ; however that apostasy might be modified or varied under the several appellations of *Paganism* or *Po-pery* or *Mohammedism* or *Infidelity* : and, as this apostasy was successively maintained (so far as the Church of God came in contact with the false religion of the Gentiles) by four great secular Empires, the four are exhibited as jointly constituting one gigantic body ; while the person, who beheld the vision, himself an idolatrous prince and the sovereign of the first secular Empire, is mystically declared to be the golden head and therefore the ruling or animating principle of the entire image.

With respect to the source whence such machinery was borrowed, it is sufficiently evident : the vision, being communicated to a pagan king and representing the long dominance of Paganism and Apostasy, is aptly framed and managed throughout upon the established and familiar speculations of pagan mythology. As the worship of colossal statues prevailed throughout the East, so the four great idolatrous Empires are jointly symbolised by a colossal statue : as the four ages were sometimes said to be of gold and of silver and of brass and of iron, while at other times they were said to be of

gold and of silver and of brass and of earth; so *both* the two notions are curiously and artfully introduced into the composition of the statue, which is exhibited to us as formed out of gold and silver and brass and iron and clay: and, as the influence of the god represented by each colossal statue was thought to pervade all the four ages, though he himself was visible only during the first; so the king of Babylon, identified with the golden head, is thence by necessary implication described as the ruling soul or principle of the whole image his body, though, like his prototype Menu or Buddha or Sacya, he is visible only during the first or golden age of the image.

I. Such is the poetical machinery of the vision respecting the great image: a vision, which appears to me to have been hitherto very superficially and very imperfectly interpreted. Commentators have satisfied themselves with simply applying the component parts of the statue to the four successive predominant Empires: and, having done this, they have apparently supposed their task to be accomplished. Meanwhile, they have neglected both the chronology and the geography of the image; matters of prime and radical importance: for, when these are fully settled and arranged, the image, viewed under two different aspects, will prove to be every way a grand prophetic calendar, governing and binding together all the other predictions both of Daniel and of St. John, while its age will turn out to be the key or the master-num-

ber to the involved smaller numbers of those two inspired writers.

I have intimated, that the image is to be viewed under two different aspects: a circumstance, which results from the plain necessity of considering it both chronologically and geographically. Under the first aspect, it symbolises the four great Empires in chronological succession: under the second aspect, it symbolises the last of them alone, viewed as geographically comprehending, in one vast body politic, the members of all its three predecessors. By a very ancient arrangement, the age of man, the being whose outward figure was worn by the image, has been variously divided either into four stages or into seven. Of these divisions, the first is loosely shadowed out by the four metals: while the second is met by the seven prophetic times, or the three times and a half twice told, which we shall find to be the predetermined age of the image, and to which our Lord alluded under the appellation of *the times of the Gentiles*.

1. In the discussion of this most curious subject, I shall begin with considering the image under its chronological aspect.

Before such a discussion can be legitimately conducted, it will be necessary to lay down the chronological principles on which the symbol has been constructed.

• The golden head is positively declared to be Nebuchadnezzar himself, in his quality of sovereign of the first Empire: *THOU art this head*

*of gold*¹. Hence the rise of the golden head is not the commencement of the Babylonian Empire, like the ascent (in a subsequent vision) of the first great beast from the troubled sea²: but the epoch of it is specifically limited to the age of the individual king Nebuchadnezzar, so that the rise of the golden head is the rise of that particular monarch; and, as the symbol is borrowed from the human form which is born and lives and dies, the rise of the golden head must coincide with the birth of Nebuchadnezzar, who is himself, accordingly, the type or federal representative or animating principle of the four Empires collectively shadowed out by the image. The true date, therefore, from which the age of the statue must be calculated as the grand prophetic calendar, is the birth of the individual king Nebuchadnezzar: *THOU art this head of gold*.

In a similar manner, the principle of symbolical decorum will forbid us to estimate the three succeeding Empires, as they appear below the golden head upon the perpendicular line of the statue's altitude, from the several points of their respective independent *political* commencements. The rudiments of all those three Empires had long been in existence, before they became component parts of the image: but, in the *present* view of the subject, we have no concern with them until they are made

Dan. ii. 38.

Dan. vii.

constituent portions of it. Thus Persia is not the silver portion, until it is joined to the Empire of the golden head : Greece is not the brazen portion, until it is joined to the Persian silver : and Rome is not the iron portion, until it is joined to the Grecian brass.

Such a mode of reckoning, which is plainly required by the decorum of the symbol, exactly corresponds with, and is admirably illustrated by, the famous astronomical Canon of Ptolemy. As the good Spirit of God employs the four successive Empires of Babylon and Persia and Greece and Rome, in the capacity of the grand calendar of prophecy : so Ptolemy has employed the very same four Empires, in the construction of his invaluable Canon ; because the several lines of their sovereigns so begin and end, when the one line is engrafted upon the other line, as to form a single unbroken series from Nabonassar to Augustus Cesar. In each case, the principle of continuous arrangement is identical. Where Ptolemy makes the Persian Cyrus the immediate successor of the Babylonian Nabonadius or Belshazzar, without taking into the account the preceding kings of Persia or of Media ; there, in the image, the silver joins itself to the gold : where Ptolemy makes the Grecian Alexander the immediate successor of the Persian Darius, without taking into the account the preceding kings of Macedon ; there, in the image, the brass joins itself to the silver : and, where Ptolemy makes the Roman Augustus the immediate successor of the

Grecian Cleopatra, without taking into the account the long preceding roll of the Consular Fasti and the primitive Roman monarchy; there, in the image, the iron joins itself to the brass. In short, the Canon of Ptolemy may well be deemed a running comment upon the altitudinal line of the great metallic image. As the parts of the image melt into each other, forming jointly one grand succession of supreme imperial domination: so the Canon of Ptolemy exhibits what may be called a picture of unbroken imperial rule, though administered by four successive dynasties, from Nabonassar to Augustus and his successors¹.

{1.) The head of gold, as we are assured by Daniel, is Nebuchadnezzar himself. Hence, as the image is the image of a man; and as the man Nebuchadnezzar, agreeably to the notions of oriental mythology, is the head or principle of the image: the birth of the human image, in which, according to the laws of nature, the head is first protruded from the womb, must synchronise with the birth of its type the individual Nebuchadnezzar.

From history we cannot positively determine the *precise* year, in which this prince was born: but we can come sufficiently near to be able to say, that

¹ It is not unworthy of remark, that the Canon of Ptolemy might, on the principles of its author, be regularly carried down to the present day through the long line of the French kings: just as the image, through the medium of the mingled iron and clay, reaches chronologically to the very end of the seven times of the Gentiles.

he was born *about* such a year. The process may be detailed, as follows.

In the year before Christ 607, Nebuchadnezzar was taken, by his father Nabopolassar into a participation of empire: and, in the year before Christ 605, he became by the death of his father the sole monarch of Babylon. This circumstance, as chronologers are well aware, accounts for the difference of two years between the calculations of Ptolemy the astronomer and Jeremiah the prophet. The former reckons from the sole monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar, or from the year before Christ 605: the latter reckons from his assumption by his father into joint sovereignty, or from the year before Christ 607. Hence, of course, Nebuchadnezzar's first year, according to Ptolemy, is his third year according to Jeremiah: and hence, as Ptolemy's mode of reckoning gives 43 years for the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah's mode of reckoning will give 45 years.

The account of the transaction, which caused this difference, is thus stated by Berosus the Chaldean as preserved by Josephus.

When Nebuchodonosor the father (the Nabopolassar of Ptolemy) had heard, that the satrap, who governed Egypt and Coelo-Syria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him; he himself, being now through old age and infirmities unable to bear the pressure of hardships, delivered to his son Nebuchodonosor (the Nabopolassar of Ptolemy, and the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture), being

then in mature age¹, certain parts of his power, and sent him against the rebel. Nebuchodonosor the younger speedily overcame his adversary, and from this beginning reduced his country under his own sovereignty. But, shortly after that time, Nebuchodonosor the father died in Babylon, having reigned twenty and one years².

The term of years, which Berosus allots to the reign of the elder Nebuchodonosor, exactly agrees with that set forth in the Canon of Ptolemy: and, by comparing together the two modes of estimating the reign of the younger Nebuchodonosor severally adopted by Ptolemy and by Jeremiah, we find, that the period, between the assumption of the son into a participation of empire and the death of the father (which Berosus indefinitely calls *a short time*), was in fact two years. It seems, then, according to Berosus, that the elder Nebuchodonosor was a very old and infirm man when he made his son his colleague, and that the younger Nebuchodonosor or Nebuchadnezzar was at that time in mature age. Hence, if we suppose the father to have been between seventy and eighty years old at the time of his death, and the son (agreeably both to the age of his father and to the phraseology of Berosus) to have been from forty to fifty years old at the time of his association in empire; we shall make the birth of Nebuchadnezzar to have occurred some

Gr. ὅντι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. The word ἡλικία is ambiguous: but the context sufficiently determines its import.

² Beros. apud Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. x. c. 11. § 1.

time between the years before Christ 658 and 646. For his father took him as his colleague in the year before Christ 607 : and, if he was at that time in mature age (as Berosus speaks) or from forty to fifty years old, his birth must have taken place about the middle of the seventh century before the Christian æra. Accordingly, such an arrangement will agree very well with the time of his death. He reigned forty-three years from the death of his father, or forty-five years from his association into empire. Consequently, if he was from forty to fifty years old at the time of his association into empire, he would have been about ninety years old at the time of his death.

From history, then, we may say, in general terms, that the golden head of the image began to be protruded from the womb of time about the middle of the seventh century before Christ : for it was about this epoch, that the individual Nebuchadnezzar was born. Consequently, the age of the image, or (in our Lord's phraseology) the times of the Gentiles, must be reckoned from about the middle of the same seventh century before the Christian æra.

(2.) The next division of the image consists of the breast and the two arms, which are said to have been composed of silver.

This, as we learn from Daniel, represents the second great kingdom. Hence the silver part of the image typifies the Medo-Persian Empire ; the right or stronger arm denoting the kingdom of Per-

sia, and the left or weaker arm denoting the kingdom of Media. These kingdoms subsisted before the downfall of Babylon : but, agreeably to the principle which I have already laid down and in exact accordance with the plan which Ptolemy has pursued in the construction of his Canon, the silver breast was not joined to the golden head until the year before Christ 538, when Babylon was captured; nor were the two arms indissolubly attached to the breast until the year before Christ 536, when the two kingdoms of Media and Persia were united under the sole government of Cyrus.

(3.) The third division of the image consists of the belly and the two thighs, which are described as being formed of brass.

This, according to Daniel, typifies the third great kingdom : and, if we turn to the Canon of Ptolemy, we shall perceive, that the Grecian Alexander is arranged immediately after the last Persian Darius. Hence the brazen part of the image must symbolise the Grecian Empire ; the belly denoting the undivided sovereignty of Alexander, and the two thighs denoting the two principal kingdoms of Syria and Egypt which soon overtopped and eclipsed the other two smaller kingdoms. The Empire of the Greeks subsisted before the downfall of the Persian Empire : but the brazen belly was not joined to the silver breast, until Alexander finally conquered Darius. Therefore the date of that junction will be the year before Christ 331 ; when, after the decisive battle of Arbela which completely broke the

strength of the Persians, Alexander was saluted King or Emperor of all Asia.

(4.) The fourth division of the image consists of two parts, differently compounded : for the two legs are of iron ; but the two feet, branching out into ten toes, are partially of iron, and partially of clay.

This, according to Daniel, typifies the fourth great kingdom : and, if we once more advert to the Canon of Ptolemy, we shall find, that the last Grecian sovereign Cleopatra is immediately followed by the first Roman Emperor Augustus. Hence the fourth division of the image must symbolise the Roman Empire from the point of time, when the iron legs became attached to the brazen thighs. This junction was gradually effected : for Greece and Syria were subdued before Egypt. But, since it was not completed until the final subjugation of the latter country, I am inclined, in correspondence with the Canon of Ptolemy, to date the point of junction in the year before Christ 30.

The mode of arrangement, which has been throughout adopted, and which the decorum of the symbol plainly requires, will lead at once to the true interpretation of the Roman part of the image.

As the two legs of iron typify the Roman Empire only from the time of their junction to the thighs of brass, agreeably to the analogical-junction of the brass to the silver and of the silver to the gold ; all that portion of time, which precedes the year before Christ 30, is excluded from our

estimate of it while it appears as a part of the great statue. Hence I think it manifest, that the two iron legs can have no allusion to the two Consuls, as some commentators have incongruously imagined. On the contrary, they must be understood to typify those two grand divisions of the Empire, which followed the complete subjugation of the Macedonian sovereignty: I mean the Eastern and Western Empires, or the two Patriarchates of the East and the West. These, then, are the two legs of iron: as the two brazen thighs were the two grand divisions of the Grecian Empire, or the two chief kingdoms of Syria and Egypt; and as the two silver arms were the two grand divisions of the Persian Empire, or the two dominant kingdoms of Persia and Media.

The iron constitution of the Roman Empire is succeeded by its mixed constitution of iron and clay: for the iron legs terminate in the feet and toes, which are said to have been thus compounded. Of this last form of domination the prophet gives the following account.

Whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter's clay and part of iron; the kingdom shall be divided: and there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And, as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly brittle. And, whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle them-

*selves with the seed of men : but they shall not cleave together, even as iron is not mixed with clay*¹.

We have here a very distinct prediction, that, subsequent to the division of the Roman Empire into the two Empires of the East and the West, it should be subjected to a yet further division into ten kingdoms represented by the ten toes of the image. These kingdoms, however, should not be equally strong or equally permanent : for some of them, inheriting a portion of the characteristic Roman iron, should be firm and durable ; while others of them, partaking of the nature of potter's clay, should soon be crushed by their more powerful iron neighbours and should crumble away into the impalpable powder of their detached component individuals. In the mean time, the principle of cohesion, which had marked the unmixed iron state of the Roman Empire, should be for ever destroyed : for, although the sovereigns of these different kingdoms should perpetually and systematically contract matrimonial alliances with each other, they should not on that account the better cohere ; or, if two or three of the kingdoms might by marriage or conquest come to be united under one government, still the whole should never be subdued and melted down into a single mass by any invading fifth secular Empire, as the Babylonian was by the

¹ Dan. ii. 41—43.

Persian, the Persian by the Grecian, and the Grecian by the Roman.

To see how exactly the whole of this prophecy has been accomplished, we need only read the modern history of Europe. The ten toes of the image are obviously the same as the ten horns of the fourth great beast in the following vision : and those ten horns are no less plainly the ten primary Gothic kingdoms, into which the Roman Empire was divided by the northern warriors of Scythia .

Such was the modification of the gigantic image, while its component parts were successively added to each other in a western direction, agreeably to the course of its mythological prototype the great humano-solar divinity of Paganism.

2. Hitherto the course of exposition has been sufficiently easy : but we have now to enter upon a track, which has been much overlooked and neglected.

The image, when its parts are viewed successively or during the progress of its formation, represents the four successive great Empires : but, when its parts are viewed conjointly, or after its

¹ Dan. vii. I know not, whether we are absolutely *bound* to account for the ten fingers of the silver arms, as we are for the ten toes of the mingled feet : yet it is worthy of observation, that the Medo-Persian Empire, independently of the two governing arms, comprehended ten kingdoms or chief provinces ; 1. Egypt, 2. Syria, 3. Assyria, 4. Babylonia, 5. India, 6. Bactriana, 7. Armenia, 8. Lydia, 9. Ionia, and 10. Thrace.

formation has been completed ; it then represents the Roman Empire alone, as existing in its utmost extent, and as comprehending (to speak broadly) the dominions of all its three predecessors. Hence the basis or geography of the Roman Empire is the basis or geography of the image : for all the four Empires were raised upon that tract of country, which, in the days of Trajan, was subject to Rome alone.

To understand the principle of this arrangement, for want of a due attention to which much confusion has arisen in determining the territorial body of that ten-horned beast which makes so conspicuous a figure in the prophecies of Daniel and St. John, we must, under one point of view, observe the tide of imperial domination, as it flowed from the east to the west ; while, under another point of view, we may mark the progress of conquest, as it advanced from the west to the east.

(1.) The original basis or platform of the Babylonian Empire was the region of the Euphrates. When that Empire fell, and when it was succeeded by the Persian Empire ; the ancient geographical basis still remained : and the only change, which it experienced, was an enlargement or extension.

In a similar manner, when the Persian Empire fell, and when it was succeeded by the Grecian Empire ; the old geographical basis was not relinquished : it only received a yet further enlargement by the addition of Greece.

The same process was continued upon the ex-

tion of the Grecian Empire : for, when it was succeeded by that of the Romans, the primeval basis, enlarged as it had been by the Persians and the Greeks, was still retained ; but its already increased dominions were now finally extended to their utmost limits by the addition of all western Europe.

In the time of Trajan, therefore, the Roman Empire comprehended the dominions of all its three predecessors, and thus became geographically the entire image. The process throughout, until the last Empire began to decline, was that of addition. If, in point of geography, we reckon westward, the golden head first subsisted alone : to the golden head were then added the silver breast and arms : to the silver breast and arms, thus attached to the golden head, were next added the brazen belly and thighs : and, to the brazen belly and thighs, thus joined to the silver breast and arms as the silver breast and arms had been previously joined to the golden head, were finally attached the iron legs terminating in the toes of mingled iron and clay. The giant was now complete in all his members. Consequently, the completed image, when viewed geographically as a whole, is the Roman Empire in its utmost extent, including both its own peculiar dominions in the west and the dominions of the three preceding Empires in the East.

Of this image, thus completed, Nebuchadnezzar himself is the type and mystical head and inspiring

principle; agreeably to a notion already mentioned as prevalent among the oriental pagans, that the great universal father Menu or Buddha or Sacya adored in conjunction with the Sun, of whom each earthly king is the vicegerent and transcript and representative, presided, either visibly or invisibly, either literally or figuratively, over all the four successive ages of gold and silver and brass and iron or clay.

(2.) We shall equally complete the great image, if, geographically reckoning eastward, we mark the progress of conquest from the first foundation of Rome.

The original basis or platform of the Roman Empire was Italy and the West. Pushing eastward, it added to this basis the dominions of the Grecian Empire. And, at length, advancing beyond the Euphrates, it again added to its original basis, already enlarged by the territories of the Grecian Empire, what may broadly be denominated the platform of the two first great monarchies. The image was now complete : but, as I have already observed, the complete image, viewed contradistinctively from the image during the progress of its formation, that is to say, the image when viewed geographically as perfect in all its members, is undoubtedly the Roman Empire in its utmost extent ¹.

¹ The transeuphratic conquests of Rome were soon resigned by the prudence or the weakness of Adrian : but enough was accomplished for the geographical completion of the image,

(3.) We may now perceive the true ground, on which Rome, throughout the Apocalypse, is denominated *Babylon*.

under its aspect of the fourth Empire combining in one mass the gold and the silver and the brass and the iron. I subjoin the historian's account of these oriental acquisitions, which, for a short season, made the Tigris, in its extreme length from north to south, the boundary of the Roman Empire.

The praises of Alexander, transmitted by a succession of poets and historians, had kindled a dangerous emulation in the mind of Trajan. Like him, the Roman Emperor undertook an expedition against the nations of the east: but he lamented with a sigh, that his advanced age scarcely left him any hopes of equalling the renown of the son of Philip. Yet the success of Trajan, however transient, was rapid and specious. The degenerate Parthians, broken by intestine discord, fled before his arms. He descended the river Tigris in triumph, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian gulph. He enjoyed the honour of being the first, as he was the last, of the Roman generals, who ever navigated that remote sea. His fleets ravaged the coasts of Arabia: and Trajan vainly flattered himself, that he was approaching toward the confines of India. Every day, the astonished Senate received the intelligence of new names and new nations, that acknowledged his sway. They were informed, that the kings of Bosphorus, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Osrohene, and even the Parthian monarch himself, had accepted their diadems from the hands of the Emperor; that the independent tribes of the Median and Carduchian hills had implored his protection; and that the rich countries of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, were reduced into the state of provinces. But the death of Trajan soon clouded the splendid prospect: and it was justly to be dreaded, that so many distant nations would throw off the unaccustomed yoke, when they were no longer restrained by the powerful hand which had imposed it. The resignation of all the eastern con-

The completed image, in its widest geographical extent, is the Roman Empire. But the head of the image is Nebuchadnezzar himself, in his quality of the sovereign of Babylon. Hence, both literally and mystically, the Roman Empire, as exhibited either in the Canon of Ptolemy or in the Revelation of St. John, is no other than the Babylonian in its utmost state of extension; while the Babylonian is the Roman in its infancy.

(4.) We may likewise perceive the principles, on which the symbol of the ten-horned beast, as partially delineated by Daniel and as more perfectly delineated by St. John, has been constructed: a circumstance, which, as it receives light from the preceding arrangement of the image, in return reflects light upon it.

This beast, which all commentators allow to be the type of the Roman Empire, as described by Daniel, has great iron teeth, which connect it with the iron legs of the image, and brazen claws, which again connect it with the statue's brazen belly and thighs: here, then, we have a plain intimation, that the Roman Empire should add its own dominions in the West to the dominions of the Grecian

quests of Trajan was the first measure of the reign of Adrian. He restored, to the Parthians, the election of an independent sovereign; withdrew the Roman garrisons from the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria; and, in compliance with the precept of Augustus, once more established the Euphrates as the frontier of the Empire. Gibbon's Hist. of Decline and Fall, chap. i. vol. i. p. 9—11.

Empire in the east. But it further devours, and breaks in pieces, and stamps, all the residue with its feet: here, consequently, we have a no less plain intimation, that the dominions also of the two remaining Empires, which in fact were included within the Grecian Empire, should be conquered and added to its own territory¹.

The same beast, as described by St. John, exhibits, in the composition of its parts, a yet more striking analogy to the composition of the great metallic image. Daniel had represented the three first Empires under the symbols of a lion and a bear and a leopard; while he had exhibited the fourth under the hieroglyphic of a non-descript wild-beast, save that it had teeth of iron and claws of brass and ten horns growing out of its head. Of this representation St. John avails himself: and, just as his predecessor Daniel had made the complete image a compound of all the four Empires fused together into one Roman mass, so he tells us, that the Roman beast was strangely compounded of the Babylonian lion and the Persian bear and the Grecian leopard, adding to these his component parts those members which were peculiarly his own; his seven heads or seven successive forms of government, and his ten horns or his ten western Gothic kingdoms². Hence, in effect, he tells us, that the Roman beast, in the greatest extent of his

¹ Dan. vii. 7, 19.

² Rev. xiii. 1, 2.

body, should be geographically commensurate with the metallic image when completed.

The geographical basis, then, or platform of the image is the territorial Roman Empire in its utmost extent; for upon this basis were reared all the four Empires, which, when united, constituted the single Roman Empire or the complete metallic image as beheld by Nebuchadnezzar.

II. We have seen, that the age of the metallic image must be reckoned from some point between the years before Christ 658 and 646: because its age must be reckoned from the protrusion of its golden head, and because its golden head is declared by the interpreting prophet to be Nebuchadnezzar himself. And we have likewise seen, that the age or duration of the image, thus reckoned from about the middle of the seventh century before Christ, has been asserted to comprehend those seven times, which are produced by the duplication of the three times and a half, and which are identical with the times of the Gentiles mentioned by our Lord. As yet, however, this last particular is nothing more than an assertion: our present business, therefore, is to establish it, so far as it can be established, by evidence.

That the term of seven times is not mentioned in direct connection with the metallic image, I readily allow: but we shall find it mentioned no less positively, though obliquely and mystically, through the intervention of that remarkable type or ruling prin-

ciple of the great idolatrous image Nebuchadnezzar himself.

The golden head, as we have seen, is declared to be no other than the individual king Nebuchadnezzar : and, agreeably to those mythologic notions on which the symbolical image is so evidently constructed, he is viewed, as animating the whole mass, and as reigning either visibly or invisibly through all the four ages. Hence he is the vital principle of the entire statue : as the natural head is the vital principle of the natural body ; or (if the illustration may be allowed) as Christ the now invisible head, and his collective members the Universal Church, form only one spiritual body or great ecclesiastical Empire. In this capacity, therefore, Nebuchadnezzar is mystically represented to us, as a type or exemplar of the metallic image ; shadowing out, in his own person, both the age and the fortune of the great compound progressively increasing Empire, which the image, during its growth, is employed to symbolise.

When the king was at rest in his house and flourishing in his palace, when he had carried the Babylonian monarchy to its highest pitch of grandeur, and when he had adorned and beautified his proud capital in a manner hitherto unexampled ; he was disturbed, by a very extraordinary dream. In the visions of the night, he beheld a tree ; which rapidly shot up to heaven, while its branches spread themselves to the extremity of the earth. Its leaves

were fair : its fruit was abundant : and it served as a shelter, for all the beasts of the field, and for all the fowls of the air. While he was gazing upon it, a Watcher, even a Holy One, descended from heaven ; and, in a loud voice, pronounced the following sentence.

Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches : shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit : let the beasts get away from under it ; and the fowls, from his branches. Nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and of brass in the tender grass of the field : and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's heart, and let a beast's heart be given unto him : and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the Watchers ; and the demand, by the word of the Holy Ones : to the intent that the living may know, that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men¹.

This dream none of the Chaldæan Magi were able to interpret : but the same God, who sent it to Nebuchadnezzar, sent also the true exposition of it to his servant Daniel.

The tree represented the king of Babylon, flourishing in the greatness of his imperial power : the

¹ Dan. iv. 14—17.

hewing of it down, and the changing of its heart from the heart of a man to the heart of a beast, exhibited the madness with which that prince should be stricken in the midst of his grandeur: the seven times denoted the term of seven years, during which his madness should continue: and the securing of the stump with a band of iron and a band of brass shewed, that, although the monarch might be deranged in his intellect, yet his kingdom should not on that account be taken away from him or experience a political dissolution.

With this interpretation the event exactly accorded. As the king was walking on the flat roof of his palace and proudly contemplating the magnificence of his city and empire, he was suddenly stricken with madness: in that state of mental alienation he remained seven times or seven years; but he lost not, on this account, his political supremacy: and, at length, when the seven times were accomplished, he was restored to his reason, he explicitly renounced his former idolatry and self-confidence, he acknowledged that the Most High was alone the God of all the earth, he reigned a short time under the character of a faithful worshipper of Jehovah, and at the end of that short time he was mercifully translated from an earthly to an heavenly kingdom¹.

¹ Dan. iv. For remarks on the symbol of a tree, as interpreted by the ancient onirocritics, see above, book i. chap. 1. I suspect, that, on their own principles of onirocriticism, the

We have now to consider the connection of this

Chaldæan Magi would have a *general* idea, that the dream portended some great calamity to Nebuchadnezzar ; though, without the divine inspiration which was specially vouchsafed to Daniel, they could not know its *precise* import. Under this ignorance in regard to its *precise* signification, the Magi were probably not unwilling to shelter themselves : for, in men who had recently escaped the penalty of death merely because they could not declare the particulars of a dream which the king *himself* had forgotten, it would require no small hardihood to inform an unreasonable oriental despot, that his second dream of the tree portended some great, though not perfectly definite, calamity to *himself*. Compare Dan. ii. 1—13, with iv. 7, 18. On the fixed principles of their art, I see not how they could be *absolutely* ignorant of the *general* import of the vision of the tree : and, when we recollect the character of the prince with whom they had to deal, as it is impossible not to admire the divine courage of Daniel in fearlessly revealing the *whole* truth ; so I deem it most probable, that the Magi were far too prudent courtiers to incur the danger of a sudden ebullition of imperial ferocity, by stating even what the rules of onirocriticism would doubtless require them *generally* to communicate. Knowing, that a tree was the fixed hieroglyphic of a sovereign prince ; and perceiving, from the very fact of the royal dream, that the tree in question was the symbol of their own sovereign : they would clearly enough discern, so far as bare *generalities* could extend, that the hewing down of the tree, by a special command from heaven, could only denote some signal judgment which impended over the devoted head of Nebuchadnezzar. It may be observed, that the inspired writer *himself* no where says that the Magi were unable to give any interpretation of the dream ; the assertion is made solely by the king, to whom, no doubt, the politic soothsayers had, with a mixture of truth and a mixture of falsehood, declared their ignorance.

remarkable narrative with the vision of the great metallic image.

1. Since the king of Babylon was a type of the great image; for it is equally said to him by the prophet, *THOU art the head of gold*, and *The tree which thou sawest it is THOU O king*: his predicted destiny will shadow out the destiny of that great compound Empire, to which he was the declared head and (according to the notions of oriental mythology) the animating principle; or, in the language of hieroglyphics as employed by the oniro-critical writers, the fate of the lofty tree is the fate of the colossal image.

Hence the seven times, during which the king was to be physically deranged, are the figure of seven prophetic times or 2520 natural years, during which the great compound Empire, defined as the terms of the symbol require us to define it, should be subjected to the moral madness of Paganism or Popery or Mohammedism or Infidelity: hence, as, at the end of those times, the king was restored to the use of his intellect and became a faithful worshipper of the one true God; so, at the end of those corresponding prophetic times, the great compound Empire is to be restored to a state of moral sanity, and, after the predicted destruction of the anti-christian confederacy, is to serve the Most High with a pure adoration during the long-expected millennium: and hence, as the king was translated to heaven, when he had piously reigned for a short season after his recovery from madness; so will the

Church of God be translated to heaven, when the comparatively short season of millennial holiness shall have rolled away.

2. This fate of the Empire is covertly pointed out in the peculiar phraseology, by which the madness of Nebuchadnezzar is described; a phraseology, which forms the connecting link between Nebuchadnezzar the type and the four great Empires collectively the antitype.

Of the king it is said; *Let his heart be changed from man's heart, and let a BEAST'S heart be given unto him*: of the four great Empires, in the language of symbols, it is said; *Four great BEASTS came up from the sea*. Thus, as the physical madness of the type reduced him to the condition of a beast, so the moral madness of the antitype caused it to be represented by a succession of beasts.

Accordingly, from the commencement of the seven prophetic times in the middle of the seventh century before Christ, down to the present hour when we have nearly arrived at the end of them, the great image, with the exception of a single brief lucid interval, has laboured under the grievous evil of moral insanity: for, relinquishing the pure doctrines of revelation patriarchal and christian, it has either worshipped the successive demon-gods of Paganism and Popery, or it has been misled by the gross imposture of Mohammedism, or it has wildly followed the ignis fatuus of Antichristian Infidelity. But yet, by the general voice of prophecy, we are taught to expect, that the period is now rapidly

approaching, when all these hallucinations of a disordered intellect shall vanish away, and when (in the language of the Hebrew seer) *the Lord shall be king over all the earth and there shall be one Lord and his name One*¹.

3. For the full establishment of the interpretation here proposed, it remains only to notice one of those connecting links, which are so frequently employed both by Daniel and by St. John to bind together parallel or allied passages,

When Nebuchadnezzar, in his vision, beheld the symbolical tree hewn down; the stump was still left in the ground, firmly rivetted to the soil by a band of iron and a band of brass. 'The import of this hieroglyphical action, as literally applied to the king of Babylon, denoted, we are told, that his kingdom should be made sure to him. But it is obvious, that the same idea would have been expressed with sufficient force, if the stump had simply been left attached to the earth by its deep-struck roots alone, and if the band of iron and the band of brass had never been mentioned. Hence we may perceive, that a figure is here introduced into the hieroglyphic, which has no sort of relation to the *individual* Nebuchadnezzar: for what particular connection, as *a mere insulated individual*, can he be said to have with the two metals of iron and brass?

Why, then, are those two metals thus promi-

¹ Zechar. xiv. 9.

nently introduced into the vision, when they are so wholly unnecessary, if the *literal* fate of Nebuchadnezzar be alone shadowed out in the vision ?

This question admits of no satisfactory answer, if the accomplishment of the prophecy be thus limited to a single individual : but a very natural reply immediately presents itself, if the prediction be extended in its application, as I have extended it.

The stump of the tree representing Nebuchadnezzar, during the seven times of his physical madness ; and Nebuchadnezzar himself being the type of that great image or compound Empire, which, from the protrusion of its golden head to the end of the latter three times and a half, is to continue through a period of seven prophetic times : it will follow from this intercommunion, that the stump of the tree, being the symbol of Nebuchadnezzar during the seven natural times of his physical madness, must also be the symbol of the great compound Empire shadowed out by the image during the seven prophetic times of that Empire's moral insanity. Now the image is described, as being compounded of four metals, gold and silver and brass and iron. But the gold and the silver soon passed away : the brass and the iron alone remained, from first to last, as dominant or binding metals. Respecting the actual duration of the iron through all the seven times, though in the vision first apparent only upon the legs of the image, there can be no dispute : for the iron Empire of Rome commenced

anterior to the commencement of the seven times ; and it will remain, under its final political arrangement, to their very termination. Nor can the parallel duration of the brass be denied, if we attend to the varied fortunes of the brazen Empire. Both the kingdom of Macedon in particular, and the Grecian States in general, existed before the commencement of the seven times : they were of course, therefore, in existence, as binding or coercing Powers, when those times *did* commence, though in the vision they are first apparent only upon the belly and thighs of the image. As the stream of conquest rolled eastward, the iron was joined to the brass : but, unlike the gold and silver, the brass was not melted down into the iron. So far from it, the brazen band remained distinct from the iron band : and, though the two were for a season wreathed together so as to form one compound band of brass and iron, yet they never cohered. On the contrary, having soon separated themselves, they have ever since been two distinct bands ; first under the names of *the Latin Empire* and *the Greek Empire*, and afterward under the names of *the Western Empire* and *the Ottoman Empire*. Thus, through the whole period of the seven prophetic times, has the mystical stump been firmly rivetted to the ground by the iron band of Rome and the brazen band of Greece ; the two for a short season wreathed together, though not confounded ; but existing, for by far the longest term, in a perfectly separate state. These two solid

bands, without asking or needing the aid of the gold and the silver, have hitherto made sure the kingdom of the great compound image: and, as we may abundantly collect from prophecy, they will cease not to make it sure unto the very end of the seven allotted times of moral insanity.

4. The conclusion, to be drawn from the hieroglyphical picture, is abundantly obvious.

The types of the iron band and the brazen band, which are plainly superfluous in the *literal* history of Nebuchadnezzar's madness, are most artfully introduced as connecting links, by which, in exposition, the stump of the tree may be tied to the great compound image¹. But, if the iron band and the brazen band correspond with the iron and the brass

¹ The irrelevancy of the iron band and the brazen band to the history of the *individual* Nebuchadnezzar has long been felt. In the time of Jerome, it was even urged as an objection to the narrative itself, on the ground that Nebuchadnezzar, during his madness, was never bound, so far at least as we are informed, with fetters of brass and iron. Jerome, not very satisfactorily, attempts to remove the objection by alleging, that madmen are often bound by chains, lest they should injure either themselves or others: and, therefore, why not Nebuchadnezzar? Comment. in loc. Oper. vol. iv. p. 505. This may be true, in many cases: but it does *not* appear to be true, in the case of the King of Babylon. From the scriptural account, he seems evidently to have enjoyed full *membral* liberty, not being subjected to any other confinement than that of an inclosed park or paddock. See Dan. iv. 32, 33. The true cause, why the iron band and the brazen band are thus conspicuously introduced, though they can have no personal reference to the *individual* Nebuchadnezzar, is that which I have assigned in the text.

of the image; then the stump of the tree must symbolise the territorial dominions of the image in their widest extent. The duration, therefore, of the image, as firmly bound to its basis or platform by the two Empires of iron and brass, must be the same as the duration of the stump, while firmly bound to the earth by the iron band and the brazen band. But the duration of the stump, while thus secured, is seven times. Therefore the duration of the image, while thus firmly bound, must be seven times also.

Now the duration of the image terminates with those three times and a half, which are defined to be the tyrannical reign of the little Roman horn: for the dissolution of the image, which follows the blow inflicted upon its feet, undeniably synchronises with the destruction of the ten-horned Roman beast at the close of the three times and a half¹. But the commencement of those three times and a half has been demonstrated, so far as moral evidence is capable of effecting a demonstration, to coincide with the year after Christ 604: consequently, the termination of those three times and a half will coincide with the year after Christ 1864. If, then, the seven times, to which the duration of the image is limited by its connection with the stump, be calculated retrogressively from the year after Christ 1864, their commencement will be found to coin-

¹ Compare Dan. ii. 34, 35, 44, 45, with vii. 7—11, 19—27, and Rev. xiii. 1, 2, 5.

cide with the year before Christ 657. But the commencement of the seven times, to which the great statue's age is limited, coincides with the rise or birth of the golden head Nebuchadnezzar. Therefore, if the present arrangement be just, chronology will offer no impediment to the necessary attendant circumstance, that the birth of that prince took place in the year before Christ 657: while, on the other hand, if chronology should evince it to be impossible that his birth could have taken place in that year, the present arrangement will at once be convicted of error and will thus be rendered altogether untenable. Now chronology offers *no* impediment to the necessary circumstance in question: for it has been shewn from history, that Nebuchadnezzar must have been born some time between the years before Christ 658 and 646; and the result of our present arrangement is, that he was born in the year before Christ 657, which, agreeably to the requirement of history, falls out between those two years. The consequence, therefore, of thus checking the present arrangement by the necessary attendant circumstance of the birth of Nebuchadnezzar is an accession of great strength to the evidence by which the present arrangement is supported. For the seven times *must* commence with the birth of Nebuchadnezzar, the golden head of the image: and Nebuchadnezzar *must* have been born between the years before Christ 658 and 646. Hence, as we can admit no arrangement of the seven times which should *fail* of placing their com-

ment between those two years : so an arrangement, anteriorly constructed upon independent principles, which yet in its result should *actually* place the commencement of the seven times between those two precise years, comes to us most strongly recommended by the very circumstance of that necessary coincidence. In short, the seven times *must* have commenced at some point between the years before Christ 658 and 646 : and a perfectly independent retrogressive calculation from the year after Christ 1864 brings us to the year before Christ 657, as the precise point of their actual commencement.

“ III. We have now, I am willing to hope, established the following arrangement of the great metallic image ; which, as exhibiting the grand prophetic calendar of seven times, proves to be the master-key to all the other prophecies of Daniel and St. John.

The image, chronologically progressive, represents the four great successive Empires, from the birth of the golden head Nebuchadnezzar, to the dissolution of the Roman Empire at the close of the latter three times and a half : but, when geographically complete, it represents the Roman Empire alone, viewed as comprehending in one great mass the dominions of all its three predecessors, and considered as binding the entire trunk of sovereignty to the ground by a band of figurative iron in the west and by a band of figurative brass in the east.

But the times of the typical stump are the times

of the chronologically progressive image. The times, therefore, of the image are seven prophetic times or 2520 natural years.

Now these times must be reckoned from the birth of Nebuchadnezzar, the golden head of the image : which birth, as we have learned from the independent testimony of Berosus, must have occurred, at some point between the years before Christ 658 and 646, or about the middle of the seventh pre-Christian century.

It seems, however, to have been ascertained, on testimony equally independent, that the seven times, expiring as they do synchronically with their own latter moiety the three times and a half of Daniel and St. John, will expire in the year after Christ 1864.

Hence, expiring in the year after Christ 1864, they must have commenced in the year before Christ 657 : which year 657 is thus brought out as the year of Nebuchadnezzar's nativity ; a circumstance, itself fixed anteriorly and independently to the middle of the seventh pre-Christian century.

Such being the case, the age of the image, from the protrusion of its head to its final dissolution, is equivalent to those seven prophetic times, which our Lord denominates *the times of the Gentiles*, and which constitute the great calendar of chronological prophecy : the seven prophetic times comprehend 2520 natural years : and the 2520 natural years commence in the year before Christ 657, and terminate in the year after Christ 1864.

IV. The remainder of the prediction, relative to the great metallic image, is easily dispatched.

A stone, cut out of a mountain without hands, smites the image upon its feet : and forthwith the whole fabric falls asunder, its several component parts being reduced to their individual atoms ; so that, as a body politic, its place is no longer found. After this achievement, the stone, rapidly increasing, becomes itself a great mountain, and fills the whole earth.

Such is the hieroglyphical picture : and, according to the inspired interpreter, the import of it is, that during the reign of the four successive Empires, the God of heaven should set up an indestructible kingdom, which should break in pieces and dissipate all its four predecessors, but which itself should stand for ever.

The mystic stone is doubtless the kingdom of the Messiah. This kingdom, by the gradual preparation of prophecy, was hewing out of the mountain of the Levitical Church, during the reigns of the three first Empires : it was finally cut out or separated from that mountain during the reign of the fourth Empire, when the Christian Church was personally founded by its divine Lawgiver : it began to smite the great image upon its Roman feet, synchronically with the commencement of the figurative day of judgment, at the sounding of the seventh apocalyptic trumpet in the year after Christ 1789 ; nor will its blows be discontinued, with whatever short intervals, until every polity, which

in its principles is opposed to the principles of the Gospel, shall be dissolved at the close of the latter three times and a half¹: and it will itself become a vast mountain or religious establishment, filling the whole earth, during that period of blessedness, which St. John limits precisely to 1000 years, and to which Daniel subjoins an additional smaller period of 335 years².

V. Within the now established grand calendar of seven prophetic times, all the other numbers which specially concern the Church, with the exception of St. John's 1000 years and Daniel's 1335 years and 2300 years, will be found to be comprehended.

1. The 70 years of the Babylonian captivity of Judah, itself an eminent chronological and circumstantial type of the Church's captivity among the Gentiles during the term of the seven prophetic times, commenced in the year before Christ 606, and ended in the year before Christ 536.

2. The 70 prophetic weeks, determined to make an expiation for sin by the death of Christ upon the cross, commenced in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus or in the year before Christ 458, and terminated even to a month with the crucifixion in the year after Christ 33: the subincluded 7 weeks, which reach from the going forth of the decree to the completion of the figurative holy city, com-

¹ Compare Dan. ii. 34. Dan. vii. 9—11. Rev. xi. 15—18.

² Rev. xx. 1—6. Dan. xii. 12.

menced in the year before Christ 458, and terminated in the year before Christ 409 : and the sub-included 69 weeks, which reach to the opening of the Gospel Dispensation by John the Baptist, commenced in the year before Christ 458, and terminated in the year after Christ 26. The single week, during which the new covenant is made and the old one disannulled, commenced in the year after Christ 26, and terminated in the year after Christ 33. The insulated half week, during which the sacrifice and meat-offering are abolished by the desolating abomination of the Romans, commenced in the middle of January in the year after Christ 67, and terminated in the middle of July in the year after Christ 70. And the utter end will be poured upon the Roman desolator at the close of the seven prophetic times or in the year after Christ 1864¹.

3. The 1290 prophetic days, mentioned in Daniel's last vision as reaching from the time when the Romans set up the abomination of desolation in the temple of Jerusalem to the time when many should begin to be purified and tried, commenced in the year after Christ 70, and terminated in the year after Christ 1360.

4. The three prophetic times and a half, marked out as the reign of the little Roman horn, and variously expressed by Daniel and St. John as three times and a half or 42 months or 1260 days, commenced in the year after Christ 604 which is the

¹ See my Dissert. on Daniel's lxx Weeks.

dividing point of the seven times, and will terminate in the year after Christ 1864.

5. The 5 prophetic months or the 150 prophetic days of the Sarapenic locusts commenced in the year after Christ 612, and terminated in the year after Christ 762.

6. The day and the month and the year or the 396 prophetic days of the Turkish woe commenced in the year after Christ 1301, and terminated in the year after Christ 1697.

7. The prophetic three days and a half, during which the two apocalyptic witnesses lay dead, commenced in the January of the year after Christ 1686, and terminated in the August of the year after Christ 1689.

Thus are all these subordinate numbers spread out upon, and included within, the master-number of seven prophetic times : which seven times are the chronological measure of the great metallic image, and which constitute the grand calendar of prophecy. For, as we have now sufficiently ascertained the matter, those seven times commenced in the year before Christ 657, and will terminate in the year after Christ 1864.

CHAPTER II.

THE VISION OF THE FOUR GREAT WILD-BEASTS.

IN the first year of Belshazzar when the Babylonian Empire was now drawing near to its subversion, and about 48 years after Nebuchadnezzar had seen the vision of the metallic image, Daniel dreamed the prophetic dream of the four great wild-beasts¹.

While he slept in the night, he beheld the sea agitated by the four winds of heaven : and out of the tempestuous deep came up four great wild-beasts, mutually differing from each other.

Respecting this hieroglyphical picture which was exhibited to the imagination of the sleeping prophet, I need scarcely remark, that, according to the unvaried usage of symbolical phraseology, the sea denotes a nation or nations in a state of revolution or warfare ; while the four great wild-beasts typify four idolatrous Empires, which arose (as Bishop Newton well expresses the sense of the present imagery) *out of the wars and commotions of the world*. As little need I set myself to prove, what is allowed by all commentators, that the four wild-beasts of Daniel's prophetic dream correspond with the four metals of Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic vision ; or, in other words, that they represent those

¹ Dan. vii.

four successive Empires, which jointly constituted the complete gigantic image. Yet, while, in general terms, matters are thus far abundantly manifest; there is a chronological difference between the four metals and the four beasts, which must not be passed over without due notice. The date of the gold is the date of Nebuchadnezzar's birth, because HE HIMSELF is declared to be the head of the image; and the several dates of the three other metals are the several years, in which their imperial antitypes became mutually joined or soldered to each other: but the several dates of the four beasts are the several years, in which the corresponding Empires *independently* commenced; because Daniel beheld each beast alike come up from the stormy sea of warring and turbulent nations.

In precisely determining the chronological epochs of the several ascensions of the four beasts from the allegorical sea, there is some measure of difficulty and uncertainty. This circumstance, however, affects not the general interpretation of the prophecy: for the general interpretation will remain the same, whatever may be the perfectly exact dates of the original foundations of the four great symbolised Empires. Perhaps we shall not err very widely in the following specification.

The first beast ascended from the sea in the year before Christ 2325: when the Babylonian Empire was founded by Nimrod¹.

¹ I arrange the foundation of the Babylonian Empire according to the excellent postdiluvian chronology of the Samaritan

The second beast ascended from the sea in the year before Christ 784 : when, out of the ruins of the great Assyrian Empire which was dismembered at the latter end of the ninth century before the Christian era, the independent kingdom of Persia sprang up under Caiumuras the founder of the Pishdadian dynasty ¹.

The third beast ascended from the sea about the year before Christ 763 : when the kingdom of Macedon seems to have been founded either by Caranus or by Perdiccas ².

The fourth beast ascended from the sea, in the year before Christ 753 according to Varro, or in the year before Christ 748 according to Fabius Pic-

Pentateuch, which shrinks not from the test of the severest examination. See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book vi. chap. 2. § V.

¹ The precise commencement of the Persian Empire will be discussed at large hereafter. See below, book iii. chap. 3. § III. 1. (1.) 2.

² On this point, there is such utter uncertainty, that I have speculatively put down the year 763 before Christ, as the mean, between the alleged commencement of the reign of Caranus and the alleged commencement of the reign of Perdiccas, according to the tables of Petavius. Some writers make Caranus the founder of the kingdom of Macedon : others, Perdiccas. Petavius, in the arrangement of his chronological table, places a whole century between them : and Sir Isaac Newton supposes them to have been contemporaries. Perhaps the most probable conjecture is, that the kingdom began to assume the aspect of a kingdom and to lose that of a petty marauding principality about the middle of the eighth century before Christ, or that the kingdom was in a course of formation from the year 3900 to the year 4001 of the Julian period.

tor : when the kingdom of Rome was founded by Romulus¹.

It is worthy of observation, since it tends additionally to shew the strict accuracy and concinnity, with which the four Empires, in the vision of the image, are represented as jointly constituting a single great compound Empire : it is worthy, I say, of observation, that all the four Empires were founded by one and the same powerful family ; so that the ten Gothic kingdoms of western Europe are not more properly viewed in the East as the collective Empire of the Franks, than the four great Empires might be viewed as the single collective Empire of the Cuthim or Chusas or Scuthæ as they are variously denominated by the Hebrews and the Hindoos and the Greeks².

I. The description of the first wild-beast is, that it resembled a lion, but that it had the wings of an eagle ; that, while it was soaring aloft in undisputed sovereignty, its wings, by which it was lifted up from the earth, were plucked ; that, notwithstanding the downfall produced by this deplumation, it afterward became erect upon its feet like a man, or appeared in the menacing attitude of what in heraldry is called *a lion rampant* ; and that finally,

¹ Sir Isaac Newton, on the principle of a reduced estimate of the reigns of the seven Roman kings, would fix the foundation of Rome to the course of the 38th Olympiad or to some time between the years before Christ 631 and 627. See Chronol. Amend. p. 38, 51—55, 128—130.

² See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book vi. chap. 2, 4, 5.

however its bestial character might predominate and prevail, a man's heart, as contradistinguished from a beast's heart, was in some extraordinary manner given to it when its imperial career was well nigh completed.

As I have never yet met with a satisfactory explanation of the curious history involved in this hieroglyphic, and as in fact no satisfactory explanation *can* be given without a previous inquiry into events of the most remote antiquity ; I shall here, in consequence of my happening to have been undesignedly led to an investigation of those matters, endeavour to supply the deficiency.

“ In absolute strictness of speech, the hieroglyphic of the winged lion is *not* prophetic ; for all the events, which it shadows out with so much minuteness, had occurred *prior* to the time when Daniel beheld the vision of the four beasts : but, though the present hieroglyphic be properly no more than a prologue or introduction to what is *really* prophetic, it does not on that account the less demand a careful exposition.

The eagle-winged lion, as all are agreed, is the Babylonian or Assyrian Empire : but here expositors usually stop short with some common-place observation, that the lion is the king of beasts and that the eagle is the king of birds ; an observation, which throws not the smallest light upon the diversified circumstances, exhibited by the different conditions of the hieroglyphic.

1. In the vision as displayed to Daniel, the lion,

after he has emerged from the sea, expands the two wings of an eagle which are attached to his shoulders, and mounts aloft from the subject earth.

The lion is the general or collective body of the great Assyrian or Iranian Empire; which comprehended the vast portion of central Asia, loosely denominated in the East *Iran* or *Cusha-dwip within*: and his two wings are the two primary or dominant kingdoms of Babel and Ashur; which, in a manner not dissimilar to that of the Eastern and Western Divisions of the Roman Empire, were sometimes united under a single sovereign, and sometimes ruled by two distinct princes. These two wings lifted up the lion from the ground, and made him the undisputed lord of Asia, during the long term of 1495 years, commencing in the year before Christ 2325 and terminating in the year before Christ 830: or, if we rather choose to reckon from the foundation of Nineveh which may be more proper as the lion then acquired his second wing, and if accordingly we make a proportionable deduction from the term of 1495 years; the two wings will in that case have enabled the lion to soar aloft during the space of 1474 years, commencing in the year before Christ 2304 when Nineveh was founded, and terminating in the year before Christ 830 agreeably to the former calculation.

2. But Daniel informs us, that he contemplated the flying lion until his wings were plucked; which circumstance, as the decorum of the symbol required, brought him down to the ground.

This depuration occurred in the year before Christ 830 : when, at the close of the second Cuthic dynasty, the mighty Assyrian Empire fell asunder by intestine discord and by the defection of its constituent provinces ; the two most eminent of which, Media and Persia, emerging from the chaos of revolutionary violence, soon established themselves, under the Arbacidan and Pishdadian dynasties, as powerful and independent kingdoms ¹. Thus were the feathers plucked out of the wings of the flying lion : and, not very long afterward, he experienced, as a whole, an additional weakening by the temporary separation of his two wings or the two dominant kingdoms of Babel and Ashur. In the year before Christ 747, where the Canon of Ptolemy commences, the Empire was divided into the two kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon under Tiglath-Pileser and Nabonassar ; though the latter appears to have been dependent upon the former, much in the same manner probably as the Western Roman Empire after the time of Theodosius was dependent upon the Eastern. The wings of the lion were now completely plucked : and he no longer, as formerly, soared over Asia, the undisputed lord of the ascendant.

3. Daniel, however, soon beheld a new change in the posture and condition of the lion. Though

¹ Quod autem evulsæ sunt alæ ejus, id est, lænæ sive aquilæ : cætera regna significat, quibus prius imperabat, et volitabat in mundo. Hieron. Comment. in loc.

he failed to recover his lost plumage Media and Persia, for Shalmaneser's brief subjugation of the former could not be noticed in the grand lineaments of the hieroglyphic : yet he raised himself up from the ground, and stood erect upon his feet in a rampant or threatening attitude.

This state of the lion commenced in the year before Christ 681 ; when the two wings were reunited under the warlike and powerful Asaraddinus or Esar-haddon, and when by their aid he was enabled to stand erect though not enabled to soar into the air. After that time, when once the feeble reign of the effeminate Chiniladanus or Sarac or Sardanapalus was past, the lion became more and more rampant under the two Nebuchadnezzars, father and son ; till at length he was made the greatest state of Asia, though, from the circumstance of his never recovering his lost feathers Media and Persia, he was incapacitated from taking his flight above the earth itself ¹.

4. The last peculiarity, which Daniel noticed in the Babylonian lion, was, that a man's heart was given to him.

This circumstance, from its very nature, could not have been *seen* by the prophet : but it must have been *communicated* to him by the voice, which afterward commanded the bear to arise and devour much flesh. The fact was a remarkable one : for the lion, it seems, retained his bestial aspect and

¹ See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book vi. chap. ii.

constitution, so as still to remain a lion ; but yet the heart of a man was given to him.

I take it, that the matter thus described relates to the personal history of the greatest and almost the last of the Babylonian princes. When Nebuchadnezzar was driven to madness during the period of those seven times, which represented the seven prophetic times of the metallic statue's moral insanity, it was said of him ; *Let his heart be changed from man's heart, and let a beast's heart be given unto him.* Hence, when he recovered his reason, he went through a directly opposite process : his heart was changed from a beast's heart, and there was given to him the heart of a man. The consequence, however, of this extraordinary visitation was no less moral than intellectual. Nebuchadnezzar, though the head of an idolatrous Empire, became a faithful worshipper of the one true God : and, as he died about a year after his restoration from madness, we have sufficient ground for reasonably believing that he departed in peace and favour with the Most High. An event of this nature might, to a worldly historian, appear trivial ; but God judges not, as man judges. In his eyes, the conversion of an idolatrous prince was worthy of especial notice. Accordingly, while a whole chapter of the short book of Daniel is devoted to the narrative of this event ; the same event is introduced into the hieroglyphic of the lion, as the last remarkable circumstance, "in regular chronological succession, by which he should be characterised.

The lion, as an Empire, ceased not to be a lion : but, in the person of his great sovereign Nebuchadnezzar, the heart of a man was given unto him¹.

II. The second wild beast, we are told, resembled a bear. In its attitude, it was raised up or elevated on one side : it had three projecting tusks in its mouth between its teeth : and the command, which it received, to arise and devour much flesh, indicates no common ferocity and tyrannical oppressiveness.

Here, again, commentators are unanimous in pronouncing the bear to be the evident symbol of the Medo-Persian Empire : but I doubt, whether the detail of the hieroglyphic has hitherto been quite satisfactorily elucidated.

The bear, we must observe, is a compound symbol, representing a compound Empire or an Empire made up of two originally distinct and independent kingdoms. Hence, while the bear himself typifies the whole Medo-Persian Empire, the several characterised parts of him must relate partly to the kingdom of Media and partly to the kingdom of Persia.

1. On this obvious principle, the two sides of the bear represent the two dominant kingdoms, which formed by their junction the nucleus or main body of the Medo-Persian Empire : the more elevated side, like the loftier horn of the ram in a subsequent

¹ See Hieron. Comment. in loc.

vision, denoting the kingdom of Persia; and the less elevated side, like the lower horn of the ram, denoting the kingdom of Media.

2. The three tusks are of somewhat more difficult explanation: yet we need not altogether despair of ascertaining their import.

Since the bear typifies the whole Medo-Persian Empire, we must, as I have just observed, seek his characteristic members partly in Media and partly in Persia. Hence, as his two sides represent the two dominant kingdoms which constituted the main body of the Empire, and as his head (agreeably to the invariable usage of symbolical imagery) represents the form of government by which that Empire was administered; his three tusks must represent certain modifications of the polity, which presided over the Empire. Now, had those modifications been represented by three heads instead of three tusks, the hieroglyphic would have been inaccurate: because the Medo-Persian Empire, whether separately or conjointly, was never acquainted with any form of government save one, namely the despotic; it was ignorant of those numerous different forms, which, under the image of seven successive heads, characterised the great Roman beast of the Apocalypse. Hence, as the modifications, represented by the three tusks, are all equally despotic forms of government; bearing the same relation to the head, that *species* does to *genus*: I see not what they can reasonably be thought to denote, except three

despotic Dynasties ; which of course must be variously sought for in the two dominant kingdoms, both separately and conjointly.

Accordingly we shall find, that the bear was ruled by exactly three despotic Dynasties anterior to the conquest of his Empire by the Greeks : and, as two of these properly belonged to Persia and one to Media ; I apprehend, that the prophet beheld two of the tusks growing out of that side of the animal's jaw which corresponded with his more elevated side, while he saw the remaining third tusk projecting from the opposite side of the jaw which corresponded with the lower side of the bear.

The single Median tusk, then, is the single Median dynasty of the Arbacidæ ; which merged in the reigning house of Persia, when, in right of his mother, the daughter and finally the heiress of Astyages or Afrasiab, Cyrus or Cai-Khosru became the sovereign of Media.

On the other hand, the two Persian tusks are those two Persian dynasties, which, by the oriental writers, are denominated *the Pishdadian* and *the Caianian*. The Pishdadian Dynasty was founded by Caiumuras, the founder of the monarchy itself : and, when stripped of Persian fable and calculated on the rational principles of Sir Isaac Newton, it may be shewn to have commenced about the beginning of the eighth century before Christ¹. This dynasty became extinct in the person of Gurshasf

¹ See below, book iii. chap. 3. § III.

the son of Zav : and it was succeeded by the Cai-anian Dynasty, which is said to have been founded by Cai-Kobad the nephew of Gurshasf. Cai-Kobad is described as being the great-grandfather of Cai-Khosru, who is undoubtedly the Khoresh of Scripture and the Cyrus of the Greek historians : and the dynasty, which he founded, after it had been continued by Gushtasf or Darius-Hystaspis and Cai-Ardeshir or Artaxerxes-Longimanus, is incongruously made to terminate, not with its ninth king Dara or Darius-Codomannus as it ought to have been, but with Secander Zul-Karnein or Alexander the horned ; for so the Macedonian was called allusively to the horns which he wore on his helmet. The reason of such a deviation from historical truth was doubtless the vanity of the Persians, who were unwilling to acknowledge their subjugation by the Greeks. Hence they feign, that, by the daughter of Philip king of Greece, Secander was the son of Darab, who was himself the father and predecessor of Dara ; thus making him the younger brother of Darius-Codomannus, and thus exhibiting him as the regular successor to the crown on the death of his elder brother¹.

3. While Daniel was contemplating the bear, he heard an invitation given to him, that he should arise and devour much flesh.

In the language of symbols, flesh denotes temporal possessions : whence the devouring of flesh im-

¹ Tarikh Jehan Ara, sect. ii, chap. 1.

ports the greedy appropriation of the temporal possessions of those who are exposed to such an exaction¹. On fixed hieroglyphical principles, therefore, the invitation given to the bear will naturally relate to the introduction of a rapacious fiscal system, by which the dominant Persian Monarchy should swallow up the wealth and revenue of the subject provinces.

This part of the prediction was accomplished, when Darius-Hystaspis, having divided his Empire into twenty satrapies, introduced a regular system of such grinding exaction, that the very Persians themselves, though specially exempted from its operation, bestowed upon him the disparaging appellation of *a greedy and tricking huckster*².

III. The form of the third beast was that of a leopard : but it had four wings upon its back, and four heads growing out of its neck.

This beast is, with good reason, unanimously pronounced by commentators to be the symbol of the Grecian Empire ; which, under Alexander the great, subverted that of the Medes and Persians :

¹ See above, book i. chap. 1. § I. 18. II. 5. (1.)

² For an account of the system introduced by this prince, through the medium of which the bear was invited to devour much flesh, see Herod. Hist. lib. iii. c. 89—97. The invitation, to arise and devour much flesh, Jerome specially applies to the decree, in the reign of Ahasuerus, that all the Jews should be put to death. Esther iii. 6—15. The bear, he says, was only *invited* : but the menace, contained in the invitation, was never *carried into effect*. Hieron. Comment. in loc. Such an exposition is untenable on hieroglyphical principles.

but, so far as I can judge, neither its wings nor its heads have as yet been quite properly interpreted.

Bishop Newton thinks, that the four wings merely denote the rapidity of Alexander's victories, and that the four heads are the four Greek kingdoms which sprang up after his death : while Sir Isaac Newton supposes, that the four kingdoms are alike typified both by the four wings and by the four heads¹.

Of these two opinions, the first is incongruous ; for, as heads never denote separate kingdoms, so wings bear a much more definite signification than that of mere swiftness : and, with respect to the second, it is both incongruous and tautological ; for (as I have just observed) separate kingdoms are never symbolised by heads, and if the wings and the heads be *alike* made typical of the four Greek kingdoms we shall have a palpable and superfluous repetition. Some other less objectionable interpretation must, therefore, be attempted.

1. As the two wings, then, of the Babylonian lion have been identified with the two kingdoms of Babel and Ashur ; so, on the same principle of exposition, I would identify the four wings of the Grecian leopard with the four kingdoms which sprang up after the death of Alexander. Hence the four wings of the leopard answer to the four horns of the he-goat in a subsequent vision² : and

¹ Jerome notices only the four heads, which he makes the four Greek kingdoms. Hieron. Comment. in loc.

² Dan. viii. 8.

hence both the wings and the horns correspond with that division of the Grecian Empire toward the four winds of heaven, which is verbally and unsymbolically foretold in Daniel's last prophecy¹.

¹ Dan. xi. 4. A *leopard* could not, with poetical decorum, be furnished with *horns*: though, in strict physiology, such members may be ascribed to a *he-goat*. Hence, I apprehend, as it was necessary to introduce the four Greek kingdoms of the leopard, and as they could not in the case of that symbol be decorously represented by four *horns*; the prophet had recourse to the less revolting expedient of furnishing the leopard with four hieroglyphical *wings*. He had already resorted to the same mode of combination in the case of the eagle-winged Babylonian lion.

In fact, we may always observe a strict attention to physical decorum in the prophetic management of bestial hieroglyphics.

When a ram or a goat is used, as the symbol of an Empire; the dependent or constituent kingdoms are *horns*: when a lion or a leopard is similarly employed; those animals, agreeably to their activity, being often in oriental sculpture provided with wings, the dependent or constituent kingdoms are the *wings* of the animal: but, when a bear is used, as the symbol of an Empire; horns and wings being alike incongruous to a sluggish animal which in physics is never characterised by horns, no resource is left to the framer of the hieroglyphic save to represent the two constituent kingdoms of the bear by his two *sides*, the one appearing somewhat more elevated than the other.

The same attention to decorum has been kept up in the management of the great image: a matter, infinitely more difficult, because the image typifies combinedly no less than four several Empires; and yet a matter, most admirably and most perfectly accomplished without introducing the least anomaly into the regular human form. Here, the two arms are the two constituent kingdoms of the Medo-Persian Empire: the two thighs are the two chief constituent kingdoms of the Macedonian Em-

2. The four heads of the leopard, agreeably to the invariable use of that hieroglyphic, particularly as it is exemplified in the case of the apocalyptic seven-headed beast, must denote four successive forms of government, to which the Grecian Empire should be subjected previous to its division into four distinct kingdoms: for, if the seven heads of the Roman beast denote seven political forms, then analogically the four heads of the Grecian beast must denote four such forms. Accordingly, we shall find, that exactly four political forms had been successively established, before the Macedonian Empire was divided by the four great captains of Alexander.

(1.) The first of these forms was the Limited Hereditary Monarchy. Under this polity, the kingdom of Macedon subsisted, until the time when Philip, the father of Alexander the great, began to interfere in the affairs of southern Greece.

(2.) The second form was the Archistrategia or Generalissimoship or (in Celtic phraseology) Pen-dragonship. This polity commenced, when Philip

pire: the two legs are the two constituent divisions, eastern and western, of the Roman Empire: and the ten toes are the ten constituent kingdoms of the same Empire, when it was divided by the ten Gothic nations.

The combination of the Roman beast may alone be deemed an exception: yet even here we may note the same regard to decorum. Since it was necessary to give him seven heads and ten horns, he is mentioned, both by Daniel and John, *anonymously*.

caused himself to be acknowledged the Head or General of the military confederacy of all the Greek States : and it continued in full force under his son and successor.

(3.) The third form was the Oriental Despotism. This mode of civil polity, associated with religious adoration, was introduced by Alexander, to the high indignation of his freeborn Macedonians, when he had obtained the Persic Sovereignty of Asia¹.

(4.) The fourth form was the Military Aristocracy. This last form was introduced upon the death of Alexander : and it expired, when, all his family having become extinct, his four principal captains assumed the style of kings, and began to reign with avowed independence in the four kingdoms represented by the four wings of the leopard.

IV. The aspect of the fourth wild-beast was much more extraordinary than that of any one of his predecessors : and, respecting him, much more is said by the prophet.

We are told, that he was very strong and dreadful ; that he had great iron teeth and brazen claws ; that he devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped with his feet, all the other beasts ; that he had ten horns upon his head ; and that he likewise put forth an eleventh little horn, which grew up behind the ten larger horns, which eradicated three out of

¹ We may reckon it to have commenced, when, after the decisive battle of Arbela, Alexander was saluted King or Emperor of all Asia.

their number, which had human eyes and a boastful mouth, and which was destined to rule over the saints during the term of three prophetic times and a half. At the close, however, of this term, we are assured, that the power of the little horn should be broken, that the beast himself should be slain, and that the kingdom of the Messiah and his saints should be erected under the whole heaven.

It is easy to see, that this fourth beast agrees, both circumstantially and chronologically, with the legs and feet of the great image¹: and it is equally easy to see, that, when he has completed his dominions by the violent subjugation of the three other beasts, he is then the entire image in its geographically completed state. But, though the ten horns of the fourth beast manifestly answer to the ten toes of the image, and though the destruction of that beast by the Son of man at the end of the three times and a half plainly corresponds with the dissolution of the image in consequence of the blow which the stone inflicts upon its feet; yet we may observe a new and very prominent character introduced into the present vision, which appears not in the vision of the image. That character is an eleventh and little horn; which, in a very singular manner, influences the conduct of the beast during no shorter a period than the latter moiety of the whole great prophetic calendar: for the age of the image, or the length of the prophetic calendar, is

¹ See Hieron. Comment. in loc.

seven times or 2520 natural years; and the reign of the little horn is three times and a half or 1260 natural years.

The identity of Daniel's fourth wild-beast and the Roman Empire is so clear a point, that it is superfluous for me to enter into any laboured discussion of the subject. As little need I set out to prove, that the ten horns of that wild-beast are the ten kingdoms, into which the western part of the Roman Empire was divided by the incursions of the Goths. Nor have we, I think, any reason to doubt the identity of the eleventh little horn and the Papacy: notwithstanding the ancient attempt of Porphyry, so justly reprobated by Jerome, to apply that symbol to Antiochus-Epiphanes; notwithstanding the more modern attempt of the Romanists to apply it to a yet future individual Antichrist, who is to start up toward the end of the world; and notwithstanding a certain recent attempt of some protestant expositors to apply it, with more or less definiteness, either to Infidelity or to the Infidel Power of revolutionary France. Yet, while I thus agree with our best commentators in their grand outline of exposition, some matters, so far as I can judge, remain to be corrected, and others may perhaps require to be ascertained or elucidated.

¹ Frustra Porphyrius cornu parvulum, quod post decem cornua ortum est, Epiphanen Antiochum suspicatur.—Est enim homo peccati, filius perditionis, ita ut in templo Dei sedere audeat, faciens se quasi Deum. Hieron. Comment. in loc.

1. We may easily say *in general*, that the ten horns are ten kingdoms into which the Western Roman Empire was divided : but it is not quite so easy to *identify* those ten kingdoms. Yet, unless they be ascertained on some fixed and rational principle, we cannot hope to give any satisfactory account of that part of the prophecy, which declares that three out of the ten horns should be eradicated before an eleventh smaller horn.

(1.) Various are the lists which have been exhibited, of the ten kingdoms in question : and the very circumstance of this variety shews plainly enough, that they have been drawn out on no fixed and definite principle.

In fact, so far as I am acquainted with the writings of our numerous expositors, these lists have been framed, either wholly at hazard, or (what is still worse) for the evident purpose of sustaining a preconceived hypothesis relative to the predicted eradication of the three horns. Hence the ten kingdoms have been indifferently sought both in the East and in the West : hence some of them have been formed out of the invaders of the Empire, while others of them have been formed out of those who never invaded it : hence the ruling head of the Empire has incongruously been identified with one of its ten horns : and hence a mere dependent viceroyalty has been placed on the same footing, and has been inserted in the same catalogue, with independent kingdoms.

Thus Mr. Mede supposes the ten kingdoms to

be : 1. The Britons ; 2. The Saxons in Britain ; 3. The Franks ; 4. The Burgundians in France ; 5. The Visigoths in France and Spain ; 6. The Sueves and Alans in Galicia and Portugal ; 7. The Vandals in Africa ; 8. The Alemanes in Germany ; 9. The Ostrogoths succeeded by the Lombards ; and 10. The Greeks in the rest of the Empire : and, having now laid down the imagined ten kingdoms, he next supposes the three eradicated kingdoms to be the Lombards, the Greeks, and the Franks ¹.

But to this arrangement it will readily be objected, that the Greeks or Eastern Empire cannot be a horn of the wild-beast, because its reigning sovereign (as we shall hereafter see) was the representative of the head which was flourishing in the days of St. John ; and zöological propriety is altogether violated, if we make the same power in the same capacity and under the same aspect to be at once both a head and a horn ². Nor is this the only objection. Three of the ten horns are said to be eradicated before an eleventh little horn. But neither the Eastern Empire, nor the kingdom of the Franks, was ever eradicated under such circumstances.

Thus Sir Isaac Newton reckons up the ten kingdoms to be : 1. The Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa ; 2. The Suevi in Spain ; 3. The Visi-

¹ Mede's Works, book iv. epist. 24.

² See below book v. chap. 3. § III. 2.

goths; 4. The Alans in Gallia; 5. The Burgundians; 6. The Franks; 7. The Britons; 8. The Huns; 9. The Lombards; and 10. The Greeks as limited to the Exarchate of Ravenna: and, having so laid them down, he pronounces the three eradicated kingdoms to be the Exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome¹.

But, in answer to such an hypothesis, it will naturally be said; that the Exarchate of Ravenna, which was a mere dependent province of the Eastern Empire, can no more be esteemed a horn or independent kingdom, than the province of Egypt or the province of Syria: and, as for the state of Rome which he makes to be one of the three eradicated horns, it no where appears in the list which he himself has given us of the ten supposed kingdoms.

Thus again Bishop Newton, very reasonably dissatisfied with a catalogue of the ten kingdoms which does not comprehend all the three eradicated kingdoms, pronounces the ten horns to be: 1. The State of Rome; 2. The Exarchate of Ravenna; 3. The Lombards in Lombardy; 4. The Huns in Hungary; 5. The Alemanes in Germany; 6. The Franks in France; 7. The Burgundians in Burgundy; 8. The Goths in Spain; 9. The Britons in Britain; and 10. The Saxons in Britain: and, having so defined them, he determines with Sir Isaac Newton the three eradicated kingdoms to be,

¹ Sir Isaac Newton's *Observ. on Dan.* chap. vi, vii.

the state of Rome, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the Exarchate of Ravenna¹.

But, while this catalogue doubtless comprehends the three supposed eradicated kingdoms, it is a catalogue altogether inadmissible: for the Bishop himself confesses (a confession, which alone is sufficient to invalidate his whole plan of interpretation), that it is a catalogue *designedly* adapted for the eighth century, not for the period in which the Roman Empire was originally divided. In other words, the Bishop gratuitously adapts his catalogue to the three supposed eradicated horns, instead of seeking those three horns among the ten kingdoms which arose upon the original division of the Roman Empire².

(2.) The faultiness of these and other similar catalogues is mainly to be attributed to the want

¹ Bp. Newton's Dissert. on the Proph. diss. xiv.

² It will readily be perceived, that Mr. Whiston's arrangement is more or less liable to the same objections.

He makes the ten kingdoms to be: 1. The Greek Empire of Constantinople; 2. The Suevi in Lusitania; 3. The Burgundians in Gaul; 4. The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain; 5. The Franks in Gaul; 6. The Vandals in Africa; 7. The Britons in Britain; 8. The Ostrogoths in Pannonia; 9. The Saxons in Britain; and 10. The Heruli in Italy.

Yet, in every respect most incongruously, he supposes the three eradicated horns to be: 1. The kingdom of the Greeks in the exarchate of Ravenna; 2. The kingdom of the Lombards in Italy; and 3. The kingdom of the Franks (meaning, I suppose, the imperial superiority or suzerainship of Charlemagne and his successors) in Italy subsequent to the kingdom of the Lombards. See Whiston's Essay on the Rev. par. iii. p. 257—262, 284, 285.

of a fixed and regular principle in the formation of them; nor, I am persuaded, can any satisfactory list be drawn out, unless some such principle be previously laid down.

What, then, is the principle, on which the present investigation must be founded?

So far as I am able to judge, the only principle, on which the ten kingdoms antitypical to the ten horns can be solidly ascertained, is set forth and comprehended in the following rules.

GEOGRAPHICALLY, *all the ten horns must be sought within the limits of the Western or proper Roman Empire; that is to say, in those provinces of Europe and Africa, which lie to the west of Greece.*

DISTINCTIVELY, *the ten horns must be ten kingdoms founded by those ten distinct nations of the great Gothic family, which acquired permanent settlements upon the platform of the Western Empire.*

CHRONOLOGICALLY, *the ten horns must be the ten kingdoms, which were first respectively founded by the ten Gothic nations.*

HOMOGENEOUSLY, *the ten horns must be ten kingdoms of a jointly similar description: that is to say, if one kingdom be an independent sovereignty, no mere dependent viceregal province can be allowed to constitute another kingdom.*

The first of these rules is built upon the mechanical construction of the symbol.

The ten horns of Daniel's fourth beast are indis-

putably identical with the ten horns of St. John's first beast¹. But St. John's first beast, like the metallic image, is a geographical compound of Daniel's four beasts. Hence, if his skin be that of the Grecian leopard, if his feet be those of the Persian bear, and if his mouth be that of the Babylonian lion²: then his ten horns, whether we contemplate them in the vision of Daniel or in the prophecy of St. John, must be sought *exclusively* within the limits of the Western, or proper Roman Empire; for, otherwise, no part of the compound symbol will specifically describe the peculiar dominions of the Romans³.

¹ Dan. vii. 7. Rev. xiii. 1. xvii. 3, 7, 12.

² Rev. xiii. 1, 2.

³ It may be said, that, since the ten toes of the image symbolise the same ten kingdoms as the ten horns of the Roman beast, since these ten toes are attached to the two feet of the image, and since the two legs of the image terminating in his two feet represent the two grand divisions of the Roman Empire Eastern and Western; the ten symbolised kingdoms ought to be sought, not exclusively in the Western Empire, but indifferently both in the Western Empire and in the Eastern Empire.

To this I reply, that, such an arrangement of the ten toes being essential to the decorum of the symbol, we can draw from it no legitimate argument as to the geographical situation of the ten symbolised kingdoms. In fact, any argument of such a description, by proving too much, will completely destroy its own superficially apparent efficacy. If the arrangement of the ten toes upon the two feet of the image require us to seek the ten kingdoms indifferently in the East and in the West, it will equally require us to discover *precisely* five kingdoms in the one division and five kingdoms in the other division. The simple truth is, that the decorum of the symbol would have been in-
to-

The *second* of these rules is plainly forced upon us by congruity itself.

Since the Gothic nations, which acquired permanent settlements in the West, were exactly ten in number; it is incongruous to imagine, that any other kingdoms, than those which were founded by these ten nations, should be antitypes to the ten horns of the wild-beast.

The *third* of these rules is built upon the very necessity of the case, and is suggested by the very construction of the symbol.

In the turbulent age, during which the Roman Empire was partitioned, change rapidly succeeded to change. Some of the original kingdoms were soon subverted; others, though greatly altered in point of extent, have remained to the present day: some of the ten Gothic nations founded respectively only a single kingdom; others founded respectively several kingdoms. Under such circumstances, we can never satisfactorily determine the ten kingdoms symbolised by the ten horns, unless, in strict accordance with the construction of the symbol, we pronounce them to be the ten kingdoms which were *first* respectively founded by the ten Gothic nations.

lerably violated, if the image had appeared with ten toes on the one foot and with none on the other. But no decorum was violated in the arrangement of the ten horns: which, accordingly, are all placed upon the Regali-Imperial head of the apocalyptic beast, while his peculiar conformation takes in likewise the dominions of the three first Empires.

The *fourth* of these rules is in itself so reasonable, that it requires no argument to demonstrate its propriety.

In brief then, the fixed and regular principle, which is evolved by the establishment of these four rules, may be thus laid down.

The ten kingdoms, represented by the ten horns, are those ten HOMOGENEOUS kingdoms, which were FIRST founded, respectively by the ten DISTINCT Gothic nations, upon the GEOGRAPHICAL platform of the Western or proper Roman Empire.

(3.) I need scarcely remark, that by the application of this principle we may detect and correct various errors, both of long standing, and of general adoption.

The Greeks and the Huns are excluded from being reckoned among the ten horns, by the single circumstance (to omit other objections) of their lying to the east of the line which separates the proper Roman Empire from the Macedonian: the Britons are excluded by the circumstance of their kingdom or rather pendragonship not having been founded by any one of the ten Gothic nations: and the state of Rome and the Exarchate of Ravenna are excluded by their total want of homogeneity. As for the Anglo-Saxons, they doubtless constituted one of the ten horns, though not after the manner in which they have been generally arranged. We are commonly told, that one of the ten horns is the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. But this is a very loose and inaccurate

mode of speaking: for the Anglo-Saxons founded no less than seven distinct kingdoms in that island. Which, then, of the seven is the typified kingdom: for, without a glaring breach of homogeneity, they cannot *all* be represented by a *single* horn? I answer: most assuredly the chronologically FIRST that was founded by the nation of the Anglo-Saxons, to the exclusion of all the other six. In process of time, the seven coalesced into one; but, with these subsequent political mutations, the prophetic symbol has no concern. The ten horns are the ten kingdoms, which were FIRST respectively founded by the ten Gothic nations. Therefore, in the eye of prophecy, the Anglo-Saxon horn is *exclusively* the PRIMARY kingdom of Kent.

(4.) On the principle now laid down, we shall find exactly ten original homogeneous kingdoms, all founded respectively by ten distinct Gothic nations, all seated within the limits of the Western Roman Empire, and all (with the single exception of the Lombards) planting themselves upon its domain in the course of the fifth century.

In the chronological order of permanent establishment on the Western Roman territory, the *first* kingdom is that of the Vandals. Godegisilus led them, in the year 406, into Gaul: in the year 409, Gunderic conducted them into Spain: and, in the year 427, Geiseric finally settled them in Africa.

The *second* kingdom is that of the Suevi. This monarchy was founded by Ermeric in the year 407: and its seat was Spanish Galicia and Lusitania.

The *third* kingdom is that of the Alans. In the year 407, they invaded Gaul under their king Goar : and, in the year 412, they had seats given them near the Rhine. Afterward, in the year 440, the territory of Valence was ceded to them by Etius, the general of the Western Roman Emperor.

The *fourth* kingdom is that of the Burgundians. In the year 407, Gundicar led them into Gaul : and, in the year 412, the Emperor ceded to them a district near the Rhine in Gallia Belgica.

The *fifth* kingdom is that of the Franks. In the year 407, Theudemir led them across the Rhine : and, in the years 416 and 417, Pharamond firmly established them in Gaul.

The *sixth* kingdom is that of the Visigoths or Western Goths. In the year 408, under the conduct of Alaric, they made themselves masters of Italy : in the year 412, they evacuated Italy and marched into Gaul ; where, under the sway of Adolphus, they immediately occupied, either by force or by agreement, the southern district which extends from the Mediterranean to the ocean : in the year 455, they conquered, under Theodoric, a part of Spain : in the year 506, they were driven out of Gaul by the Franks : and, in the year 585, they had become lords of all Spain.

The *seventh* kingdom is that of the Anglo-Saxons. In the year 449, they planted themselves in the isle of Thanet : and, in the course of a short time, they founded the primary and original kingdom of Kent.

The *eighth* kingdom is that of the Herulo-Turingi, or the kingdom founded by the mingled troops of Odoacer. Some little time before the year 476, the confederates of Italy saluted their general Odoacer, the hereditary chieftain of the Scyrri, with the title of *King*: and, in the year 476 or 479, having abolished the Western Emperorship, that prince founded what we may denominate, for want of a more appropriate appellation, *the first Gothic kingdom of Italy* :

The *ninth* kingdom is that of the Ostrogoths or Gruthungi. In the year 489, their sovereign Theodoric, who had previously been in the service of the Eastern Emperor, undertook the conquest of Italy: and, in the year 493, was founded the Italian Ostrogothic monarchy.

The *tenth* kingdom is that of the Longobards or Lombards. In the year 526, Audoin crossed the Danube, and established the Lombards in Pannonia: in the year 563, Alboin assisted the Eastern Emperor against Totila, king of the Italian Ostrogoths: and, in the years 567 and 568, the same prince, finally leading his people out of Pannonia, founded a kingdom in that part of Italy which has ever since borne the name of *Lombardy* ¹.

Thus we find, that the Western or proper Roman Empire, agreeably to the formation of the symbol which represents the entire Empire, was

¹ My authorities for these various dates are those adduced by Sir Isaac Newton and Mr. Gibbon. See *Observ. on Dan.* chap. vi, and *Hist. of Decline* vol. v, vi. 8vo. edit. 1806.

partitioned by exactly ten Gothic nations. The mingled Germans of Radigast, and the Huns of Attila, might and did harass the Western Empire : but these ten nations alone obtained permanent settlements, or became the founders of established kingdoms. Hence I suppose the ten primary kingdoms, which I have enumerated, to be the ten kingdoms symbolised by the ten horns of the fourth beast. Like the mingled toes of the great metallic image, some of them were strong, and others were weak. Some, therefore, have remained even to the present day ; for they possessed the hardness and durability of the Roman iron : and some, at a very early period, were ground by their more powerful neighbours to an impalpable powder ; for they exhibited the weakness and brittleness of potters' clay. But, with the subsequent revolutions of the Western Empire, we have no concern : the ten PRIMARY kingdoms, founded by the ten distinct Gothic nations, are alone to be deemed the antitypes of the ten Roman horns ¹.

¹ Some commentators, through despair of producing a satisfactory catalogue of ten kingdoms, have cut the Gordian knot by a bold declaration, that the number *ten* must here be understood indefinitely, and that the prophecy announces nothing more than a division of the Roman Empire into *many* kingdoms. But the definiteness of the number *ten* is, I think, fully established, partly by the triple coincidence of the ten toes of the image, the ten horns of the beast, and the ten parts of the Babylonian city ; partly by the definiteness of the number *three*, where it is declared that *three* out of the *ten* horns should be eradicated before the little horn ; and partly by the circumstance,

2. Having now ascertained the ten large horns of the fourth great beast, I shall next endeavour to mark out the true character of that little persecuting horn, which the prophet beheld springing up as it were by stealth behind the ten larger horns.

(1.) On this subject, I agree in the general with Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Mede, and Bishop Newton: for, since history demonstrates that the ten horns sprang up in the fifth and sixth centuries, and since prophecy declares that the little horn was springing up synchronically with and in the midst of them (for, unless this had been the case, it could not have been concerned in the eradication of three of the primary horns); we are doubly compelled by two fatal notes, the one *chronological* and the other *geographical*, to identify the little horn with the Papacy¹.

that every other number in the visions of Daniel is manifestly and confessedly definite, whence it were incongruous to make the number *ten* alone indefinite. If the four wings of the leopard, like the four horns of the he-goat in a subsequent vision, denote the precisely four Grecian kingdoms into which the Empire of Alexander was divided; the very principle of consistent interpretation is violated by supposing the ten horns of the Roman beast to denote, not precisely ten kingdoms, but indefinitely many kingdoms.

¹ The modern popish expositor, Bishop Walmesley (who, under the assumed name of *Signor Pastorini*, published *A general History of the Christian Church deduced from the Apocalypse*), quitting the ground occupied by his more cautious predecessors, allows, that the ten horns of the Roman beast can only be the ten Gothic kingdoms, which sprang up in the fifth and sixth centuries when the Western Empire was partitioned:

(2.) Yet, while I thus agree with them in the general, that a persecuting Power, which is marked

yet, with singular inconsistency though for very obvious reasons, he stiffly contends, that the rise of the little horn is still future. Nothing, however, can be more evident, as the early Fathers of the Church clearly saw and maintained, than that both the little horn springs up synchronically with the ten horns, and that all these eleven horns arise geographically in one and the same region. In truth, unless this be admitted, the prophecy can never be accomplished. The little horn is to eradicate three out of the ten primary horns. But, of the ten primary horns (such have been the political revolutions of the West), only two are now in existence; the kingdom of the Franks, and the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons: or, if we assent to the assertion of Mr. Gibbon, we shall even say, that the single kingdom of the Franks alone can boast an unbroken descent from the conquerors of the Roman Empire. It is, therefore, physically impossible, that any imagined yet future little horn can accomplish the terms of the prophecy: for, if at the most only *two* of the ten primary horns are now in existence, it is quite clear that no future little horn can eradicate or subdue *three* of them. Hence, if the ten larger horns be the ten Gothic kingdoms; of which circumstance, Bishop Walmesley himself being judge, there can be no reasonable doubt: it will inevitably follow from such premises, both that the little horn was springing up synchronically with the ten primary large horns in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, and that the geographical stage of its growth was the Western Roman Empire. In short, if the rise of the little horn be still future; the rise of the ten horns, notwithstanding the Western Empire has already been partitioned by ten Gothic nations, must be future also; and, conversely, if the rise of the ten horns be long since past; the rise of the little horn must also be long since past.

This principle is so evident, that Jerome, who places the destruction of the Roman Empire and its partition by ten kings at

out *chronologically* as springing up almost unperceived in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, and which is determined *geographically* as rising within the limits of the Western Roman Empire, can only be the Papacy : I am unable entirely to assent to their precise mode of exposition. *They* suppose, that the little horn symbolises the *tem-*

the end of the world, consistently ascribes to the same period the rise and exploits of the eleventh little horn.

Ergo dicamus, quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt : in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanum, decem futuros reges qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant, et undecimum surrecturum esse regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit. Quibus interceptis, etiam septem alii reges victori colla submittent. Hieron. Comment. in loc. See also Iren. adv. Hær. lib. v. c. 21.

That the division of the Roman Empire by ten nations into ten primary kingdoms has long since occurred, not (as Jerome gratuitously imagined) at the end of the world, is now a matter of history. Such being the case, on that Father's very just principle of exposition, the rise of the little horn (let it symbolise what Power it may), its subversion of three out of the ten primary kingdoms, and the submission of all the remaining kingdoms to its extraordinary domination, must also have long since occurred.

On the whole, I see not how we can consistently deny the long since accomplished rise and the long since established domination of the little horn, unless we be also prepared to deny the destruction and partition of the Western Empire, in the fifth and sixth centuries, by the ten victorious Gothic nations. We may *explain* the symbol of the little horn as we please : but, if the Western Empire has been partitioned, the Power *represented* by the little horn must have long since made its appearance.

poral kingdom of the Papacy: *I*, on the contrary, believe it to represent exclusively the *spiritual* domination of the Roman See.

In the figurative language of Scripture, the same hieroglyphic, as I have already shewn very abundantly, represents both temporal and spiritual things, provided only those things are mutually connected by a common leading idea¹. Thus a star typifies either a prince or a priest, the one being in the State what the other is in the Church²: and thus, by a parity of reasoning, the present symbol, a horn, may abstractedly signify either a temporal kingdom or an ecclesiastical kingdom.

Of these two significations, Sir Isaac Newton and Mr. Mede and Bishop Newton adopt the former. Hence, as I have just stated, they suppose the little horn of the Roman beast to mean the *temporal* kingdom of the Papacy, or that small Italian Principality which bears the general name of *the Ecclesiastical Estates* or *St. Peter's Patrimony*: a supposition, which of necessity leads them further to maintain, that the Papacy was *not* a horn until it acquired this Principality, and that it *became* a horn by the subversion of the three horns which were destined to fall before it.

To such a scheme, there are, if I mistake not, insuperable objections. It will not accord with the

¹ See above book i. chap. i. § II.

² Accordingly, in the Hebrew, which is a language of ideas, the same word is employed to denote both a *priest* and a *prince*.

prophecy itself: and, therefore, as we might naturally expect, it will not accord with the events.

In the *first* place, certain definite actions are ascribed to the little horn. But these actions were performed by the Pope, wholly as an ecclesiastical Power claiming universal dominion over the Church, not as the petty sovereign of an Italian Principality possessing no weight in the general balance of Europe. Therefore the little horn, to which such actions are ascribed, cannot be the insignificant temporal kingdom of the Pope.

In the *second* place, the little horn is represented by the prophet, as being *already in existence* previous to the eradication of the three horns. But the scheme at present under consideration supposes, that the Papacy *became* a horn by such eradication. The prophecy places the rise of the little horn *anterior* to the eradication of the three horns. But the scheme supposes it to rise *in consequence* of that eradication. Hence it is manifest, that the scheme makes the horn both to *exist* and to *act*, previous to the supposed date of *its own existence*. Therefore, again, the little horn, to which such an existence and such an action are attributed, cannot be the temporal kingdom of the Papacy.

In the *third* place, the contradiction becomes more glaring and the difficulties increase, when we begin to consider the connection of the little horn with the period of the latter three times and a half.

Daniël teaches us, that the times and the laws and the saints should be given into the hand of the

little horn during that exactly limited term : whence we **must** obviously conclude, that they are so given by the unanimous submission of those secular Powers, which lay within the allotted sphere of the little horn's influence. But the secular Powers, thus situated, are the ten Gothico-Roman kingdoms. Therefore, by the unanimous submission of the ten Gothico-Roman kingdoms, the times and the laws and the saints must have been given into the hand of the little horn : and, consequently, from the era of that unanimous submission, the latter three times and a half must be computed¹.

Now Mr. Mede supposes, that the first of the three eradicated horns was plucked up in the year 727, when the Pope caused the Italians to revolt from the Emperor Leo ; and therefore that the little horn, according to *his* view of its character, then began to *exist* : yet does he propose to calculate the latter three times and a half, either from the year 365 when the Goths began to invade the Empire, or from the year 410 when Rome was sacked by Alaric, or from the year 455 when Valentinian died whom he deems effectively the last Emperor of the West. Independently of the confutation, which all these conjectures, relative to the date of the latter three times and a half, have received from the event ; independently of its being impossible to shew, how the times and the laws and the saints were given into the hand of the little

¹ See above book i. chap. 6.

horn, at any one of those eras, by the unanimous submission of the ten Gothico-Roman kingdoms : who can avoid observing the palpable contradictoriness of such a scheme ? According to Mr. Mede, the little horn did not begin to *exist* until the year 727 ; when the Pope, for the first time, acquired a temporal sovereignty, at the expence of the Eastern Emperor : yet the times and the laws and the saints were given into the hand of that identical little horn, at the commencement of the latter three times and a half, either in the year 365, or in the year 410, or in the year 455. That is to say, according to the scheme of Mr. Mede, the latter three times and a half or the peculiar reign of the little horn commenced, and the times and the laws and the saints were given into the hand of the same little horn, several centuries before the little horn itself began to *exist*.

The similar scheme of Bishop Newton leads him into the very same contradiction, though he rejects all Mr. Mede's dates, having seen his theory confuted by the event. He supposes, that the first of the three horns was plucked up in the year 755, when the Pope became master of the Exarchate of Ravenna ; and, consequently, that the little horn, according to *his* view of its character, then first started into *existence* : yet is he inclined to compute the latter three times and a half from the year 727. Thus, like Mr. Mede, he computes that period from an era, when, by his own account, the little horn had not yet begun to *exist* : for, accord-

ing to his lordship, the latter three times and a half or the reign of the little horn commenced in the year 727; but the little horn itself, notwithstanding such a commencement of its *reign*, did not begin even to *exist* until the year 755. In other words, the little horn, if we may credit Bishop Newton, had been actually *reigning* some 28 years previous to its own *existence*.

On these grounds I contend, that the little horn cannot symbolise the *temporal* kingdom of the Pope, as Mr. Mede and Bishop Newton suppose. But there can be no reasonable doubt, that, under some aspect or another, it symbolises the Papacy. Hence, if it cannot symbolise the *temporal* kingdom of the Pope, it must inevitably symbolise his *spiritual* kingdom.

(3.) The time, allotted in the prophecy, for the rise and growth of the little spiritual horn from the head of the great secular Roman beast, is the period, during which the Roman Empire was invaded, and in the course of which the Western Empire was at length partitioned, by the several nations of Gothic or Teutonic origin: for the ten horns of Daniel's fourth beast, as the event has demonstrated, are the original ten Gothico-Roman kingdoms; and the little horn is represented, as stealthily and gradually springing up, after its first germination or budding from the head of the fourth beast, among and behind those ten Gothico-Roman horns.

Now the earliest invasion of the Roman Empire

by the warlike tribes, who collectively bore the general name of *Goths* or *Teuts* or *Scythians*, occurred in the year 250 : and this earliest invasion was followed, by repeated successive invasions, in the years 269, 322, 331, 365, 374, 376, 395, and 406¹. In the same year 406, the first of the ten kingdoms, that of the Vandals, was established upon the Western Roman territory : in the year 568, the last of them, that of the Lombards, was ultimately, after the evacuation of Pannonia, fixed upon the platform of the Western Empire : and, in the year 604, the times and the laws and the saints were, by the existing representatives of the ten horns, unanimously given into the hand of the little horn, at the commencement of the latter three times and a half.

Hence we must look for the primary germination and gradual increase of the little horn, in the course of the period, which elapsed, between the year 250 when the Goths began to invade the Roman Empire, and the year 604 when at the commencement of the latter three times and a half the times and the laws and the saints were given into its hand.

The precise notion, which we ought to form of the *budding* or *germination* of the little horn, is conveyed, no less intelligibly than artfully, by the mechanical construction of the very symbol itself.

¹ See Gibbon's Hist. of the Decline and Fall. vol. i. p. 387, 397—405. vol. ii. p. 9—14, 253—255. vol. iii. p. 123—126. vol. iv. p. 277—291, 327—334, 387—435. vol. v. p. 176—201, 214—329.

Daniel beheld the little horn springing up from the head of the great secular Roman beast. Now this action cannot describe *the original commencement of the primitive Roman Bishopric*: for the Roman Bishopric, at its original commencement, certainly sprang not from the head or from the existing supreme polity of the Roman Empire; but, as we are told by Irenæus, was founded by the two Apostles, Peter and Paul¹. On the contrary, by the very construction of the symbol itself, the action must obviously describe *the commencement of the spiritual kingdom of the Papacy, viewed under the aspect of its secular legalisation by the civil power*: for, exactly when that secular legalisation occurred, and not at any previous time, the little horn began to germinate, specifically and directly, from the head of the Roman beast.

Such, I think, is clearly the notion, which we ought to form of the *budding* or *germination* of the little papal horn: and, accordingly, we shall find, that this *germination* occurred during the precise period, in the course of which the prophecy teaches us to expect both the *germination* itself and the subsequent stealthy *growth* of the spiritual kingdom in question.

The period, as we have seen, is the term, which extends from the year 250 to the year 604.

Now it is manifest, that the little horn could not germinate from the head of the secular Roman

¹ Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 3.

beast, so long as the pagan Roman Empire stood in direct opposition to Christianity. Hence the germination could not occur anterior to the reign of Constantine. But, since Constantine began to reign about sixty years after the first invasion of the Goths, and since his own reign was also marked by a Gothic invasion and war: we are naturally led to expect, that, in the course of his reign, the *germination* of the little horn from the head of the Roman beast will be found to occur.

Nor shall we be disappointed in our reasonable expectation. The Council, held at Nice in the year 325, declared, that, within their own respective Patriarchates, the equal authority of the four great Prelates of Rome and Alexandria and Antioch and Ephesus ought to prevail and to be acknowledged: and this declaration of the Council was secularly ratified and legalised by the Emperor Constantine, under whose authority, and at whose command, that celebrated Assembly was synodically convoked¹.

¹ Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρίας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴν καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο συνηθές ἐστιν. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Concil. Nic. prim. can. vi. Labb. Concil. vol. ii. p. 32.

ρ The Latin translations of the first clause, by Dionysius Exiguus and Isidorus Mercator, run as follows.

Antiqua consuetudo servetur per Ægyptum, Libyam, et Pentapolin, ita ut Alexandrinus Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem: quia et urbis Romæ Episcopo parilis mos est. Dion. Exig. in Labb. Concil. vol. ii. p. 40, 41.

Here, then, we behold the *germination* of the little horn specifically from the head of the Roman beast: or, in other words, here we behold the first rise of the secularly legalised and supported ecclesiastical kingdom of the Papacy. Our next business will be to trace its stealthy *growth* and *increase*.

At the end of the year 378 or at the beginning of the year 379, was promulged an imperial edict of Gratian and Valentinian the second; which considerably augmented and strengthened the patriarchal authority of the Latin Pontiff, as first secularly legalised by Constantine in the year 325:

Mos antiquus perdurat in Ægypto vel Libya et Pentapoli, ut Alexandrinus Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem: quoniam quidem et Episcopo Romano parilis mos est. Isid. Merc. in Labb. Concil. vol. ii. p. 46.

It is worthy of note, that, although the Council allowed *precedence of rank* to the Patriarch of Rome, they seem, in the year 325, to have had no notion, that he was an *Universal Bishop* or the *Controuling Head of the Catholic Church*. Out of his own Patriarchate, they ascribe to him no sort of *authority*. Whatever ecclesiastical power he *then* possessed, within the limits of *his* proper Patriarchate; that *self-same* power is, by the Council, alike ratified to the other three Patriarchs within *their* respective spiritual dominions. Accordingly we find, even so late as the latter end of the sixth century, Pope Gregory the great strenuously censuring the title of *Universal Bishop*; on the express ground, that such a title, by whomsoever assumed, was a virtual *invasion* of the independence of the other Patriarchs and a manifest *derogation* from their just and equal authority. Gregor. Epist. lib. iv. epist. 32, 36. See the passages cited at large below, § IV. 2. (3.) note.

for, with the express sanction and enforcement of the civil power, 'it conferred upon the Roman Church the right of summarily deciding appeals in all doubtful cases that concerned the western Bishoprics.

By virtue of this edict of Gratian and Valentinian, the Roman Patriarch henceforth began to issue, under the sanction of legal penalties, his ecclesiastical mandates and decisions.

Thus, in the year 385, he tells Himerius, the Bishop of Tarraco in Spain, who had written for his direction relative to certain ecclesiastical matters, that those, who had abused their stations in the Church, were degraded from them by the authority of the Apostolic See : and he adds, that, if any Metropolitans should admit persons to holy orders contrary to the canons and to *his* interdicts, they might expect the Apostolic See to pass judgment upon them accordingly. Thus, in the year 404, he ordains, in his decretal epistle to Victricius Bishop of Rouen in Gaul, that all the greater causes throughout that province should be referred to the See of Rome. Thus, in the year 417, he constitutes the Bishop of Arles his vicar over the whole of Gaul ; alleging, for a reason, the good pleasure of the Apostolic See. And thus, not to multiply instances superfluously, in the year 419, on a complaint of the clergy of Valentia against Maximus, he summons the Bishops of all Gaul and the Seven Provinces to convene a Council against him.

As the edict of Gratian and Valentinian the second in the year 378 or 379 greatly cherished the

still tender and comparatively diminutive horn of the West: so the joint edict of Theodosius the second and Valentinian the third, which was promulgated in the year 445, tended mightily to assist its growth.

By this important instrument, an absolute obedience to the will of the Roman Bishop was enjoined upon all the Churches of the Empire: all other Bishops were prohibited from attempting any thing without his authority: and the civil governor of each province was commanded to bring before him every Bishop, whom he might summon to appear before his judicature. As a further confirmation of such lofty privileges, the present edict refers to that prior edict of Gratian and Valentinian the second, by which the spiritual kingdom of the Papacy, originally founded by Constantine, was strengthened and cherished¹.

While this ecclesiastical dominion was rising up, the Gothic nations were invading the Western Empire, and were founding various kingdoms within its limits which professed religions or modes of religion different from that of the Roman Church. Such an event, which might well seem to portend absolute ruin to the papal kingdom, served only in the issue to strengthen and increase it. The Gothic nations *by degrees embraced the Roman faith, and at the same time submitted to the Pope's*

¹ Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Dan. chap. viii. p. 90—95, 107, 109—112.

*authority. The Franks in Gaul submitted at the end of the fifth century: the Goths in Spain, at the end of the sixth*¹. In the year 600, the Lombards renounced the heresy of Arius, and reconciled themselves to the Apostolič See: and, in the year 604, the conversion of the primary Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent was finally accomplished by the labours of Augustine, who had been submissively received as its metropolitan from the Roman Pontiff.

When this last transaction was completed, the representatives of all the ten Gothic kingdoms had submitted to the little western horn. At that era, the times and the laws and the saints were given into its hand: at that era, the ten kings unanimously devoted their power and strength and kingdom to the service of the beast and his harlot-rider: at that era, commenced the latter three times and a half of papal misrule in the West: and, at that era, the little horn of Daniel's vision, from a small and comparatively harmless ecclesiastical Principality becoming a great and ferocious ecclesiastical Empire, began henceforth to appear as the second or two-horned beast of the Apocalypse².

¹ Sir I. Newton's Observ. on Dan. chap. viii. p. 113.

² Notwithstanding the rapid growth of papal domination during the fifth and sixth centuries, it is a remarkable circumstance, that, about the close of the sixth century, Pope Gregory explicitly disclaimed that universal rule and supremacy, which it has been the great object of his successors and their parasites to demand *de jure* and to maintain (so far as the secular Powers would permit) *de facto*. He states, that neither he nor any one

(4.) Though the task has already been very often performed, yet, in order that the present argument

of his predecessors ever thought of preposterously asserting their universal episcopate: and, what puts his meaning out of all possibility of dispute, he grounds his alleged circumstance on the basis, that any such claim, on the part of the Patriarch of Rome, would manifestly infringe upon the equal rights and prerogatives and jurisdiction of the other Patriarchs.

Consacerdos meus Johannes (Constantinopolitanus) vocari *Universalis Episcopus* conatur. Exclamare compellor ac dicere, O tempora! O mores! Sacerdotes vanitatis sibi nomina expetunt, et novis ac prophanis vocabulis gloriantur.—Sed absit a cordibus Christianorum nomen illud blasphemix, in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur. Gregor. Epist. lib. iv. epist. 32. Nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit: quia, videlicet, si unus Patriarcha *Universalis* dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. Sed absit, hoc absit, a Christiana mente id sibi velle quenquam arripere unde fratrum suorum honorem imminuere ex quantulacunque parte videatur. Ibid. epist. 36.

Nothing can be more evident, than that, according to the judgment of Gregory which exactly corresponds with the decision of the first Nicene Council ratified and legalised by Constantine, all the several great Patriarchs were, in point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction within their respective Patriarchates, so mutually equal, that any claim to an *Universal Episcopate*, preferred by any one of these Patriarchs, was a clear usurpative invasion of the always acknowledged co-equal independence of all the other Patriarchs. Yet, notwithstanding this express decision of Gregory in regard to a *naked matter of fact*, we are unblushingly told by his successor and namesake Gregory the seventh, that *the Roman Pontiff alone can rightly be called Universal* (Dictat. Papæ Gregor. sept. in Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 110, 111.): and, in a recent bull

may not be left incomplete, it will be useful to examine the prophetic character of the little horn, article by article, as it is minutely described in the prediction itself.

At its first rise, the little horn is not only to be a small kingdom, but it is likewise to be different from all the other horns.

Accordingly, every one of the ten kingdoms, founded by the ten northern nations, was a *temporal* sovereignty; but the papal horn was a *spiritual* sovereignty: and, even afterward, when it had acquired a secular principality at the expence of three of the ten temporal horns, it still continued to differ essentially from them in its political constitution; because, unlike its fellows, it was a Power

issued even by the present Pope, we are gravely assured, without the least respect to that independent jurisdiction of the other Patriarchs which Gregory the great professed to guard so jealously, that *the Roman Church is the MOTHER and MISTRESS of all other Churches*. How it can be the MOTHER of Churches more ancient than itself, the Church of Jerusalem for instance, certainly passes my limited comprehension: and how it can be the MISTRESS of *all* other Churches, if Gregory the great have spoken truly, is equally paradoxical. Gregory the seventh, in his assertion, *quod solus Romanus Pontifex jure dicatur Universalis*, seems most unluckily to have forgotten the character which Gregory the great gives of the individual who assumes such a title: *Mandata dominica, apostolica præcepta, regulas patrum, despiciens, eum (scil. Antichristum) per elationem præcurrere conatur in nomine:—ita ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, et omnia, quæ soli uni capiti cohærent, videlicet Christo, ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membra subjugare*. Gregor. Epist. lib. iv. epist. 36.

ecclesiastical and spiritual, as well as civil and temporal.

The little horn is said to have eyes like the eyes of a man, with which it keenly overlooks the actions of all the other ten horns.

Thus the Papacy claims an universal episcopate : and, in this character, it professes to take under its cognizance the spiritual concerns, and not unfrequently the temporal concerns also, of the entire Western Empire.

The little horn is described, as having a mouth which speaks great things and a look more stout than its fellow-horns.

Accordingly, in his asserted capacity of Christ's Vicar upon earth, the Bishop of Rome has, at various times, anathematised all who dared to oppose him ; has laid whole kingdoms under an interdict ; has excommunicated kings and emperors ; has absolved their subjects from their allegiance ; has affected greater authority, even in temporal matters, than sovereign princes ; and has pronounced, that the dominion of the whole earth rightfully belongs to him.

The little horn is represented, as speaking great words by the side of the Most High, and as affecting an equality with God.

• Accordingly, the Bishop of Rome is not offended at being styled, by his parasites, *Our Lord God the Pope, Another God upon earth, King of kings and Lord of lords, Our most holy Lord, the victorious God and man in his see of Rome, God the*

best and greatest, Vice-God, The Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, The Most Holy who carrieth the Most Holy : nor does he disapprove of the flattery which tells him, that he was named *God* by the pious Emperor Constantine ; that the same is the dominion of God and of the Pope ; that the power of the Pope is greater than all created power, extending itself to things both celestial and terrestrial and infernal ; and that the Pope doeth whatsoever he listeth even things unlawful, for he is more than God.

The little horn is described, as thinking to change times and laws, and as having them given into its hand or as having them yielded up to its own mere arbitrary dictation.

Thus, by instituting new modes of worship, by imposing new articles of faith, by enjoining new rules of practice, and by reversing at pleasure the laws both of God and of man¹, the Bishop of Rome has evinced himself to be that extraordinary character, whom Daniel exhibits as elevated above all law, and whom St. Paul (in manifest reference to the present oracle) announces under the precise aspect of the lawless one.

The little horn, by a series of relentless persecutions, is to wear out the saints of the Most High.

Accordingly, the Papacy has ever been notorious for its blood-thirsty and persecuting spirit : from age to age, it has been even drunken with the blood

¹Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 260—264. 8vo. edit. 1790.

of the saints : and, from age to age, it has incessantly attacked with fire and sword those faithful servants of God, who protested against its corruptions, and who refused to partake of its idolatries¹.

¹ It is not unfrequently retorted by the Romanists, that Protestants also have been known to persecute those who differed from them. To attack the Romanists, therefore, on the score of persecution, is a mere exemplification of the adage, *Clodius accusat mæchos*.

We must confess the lamentable truth, that, in some instances, Protestantism has been thus polluted : yet, when we consider how slow the mind of man is to receive propositions, which at length become familiar and appear altogether incontestable, we shall not perhaps wonder at the circumstance, however we may deplore it. The sanguine spots of Rome long, more or less, adhered to those, who had reformed themselves from her superstitions : and the lessons, which had been learned in a corrupt school, were often but too faithfully carried into practice. This was only to be *expected* : for, except in cases of actual inspiration, the breaking in of light will always be gradual. Hence, in common equity, the *masters* ought to be blamed, rather than the *scholars*.

Be this, however, as it may, there is a vital and essential difference, in the matter of persecution, between Popery and Protestantism, which ought never to be overlooked ; though, for obvious reasons, the modern advocates of the Roman Church, prudently pretermit it. *Persecution is part and parcel of Popery : but, in Protestantism, it is merely incidental.*

In making this assertion, I speak advisedly, not inadvertently : and I substantiate it on the very principles of Popery and Protestantism themselves.

A special doctrine of Popery is the infallibility and immutability of the Catholic Church so called, in all points which have been authoritatively determined by ecumenical Councils. Now the duty of persecuting and exterminating heretics with fire and

The reign of the little horn is limited to a period of three prophetic times and a half or 1260 natural years.

sword is unreservedly propounded by at least two ecumenical Councils, the third and fourth Councils of Lateran. See Concil. Later. III. can. 27. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 1522, 1523; and Concil. Later. IV. can. 3. Labb. Concil. vol. xi. p. 147—151. Such being the case, in a Church which avowedly can neither err nor change, the duty of persecution becomes an immutable and perpetual article of faith, always existing and binding, though not always capable of being carried into practice: nor can this conclusion be avoided by any modern Romanist, unless he be content to pronounce, that two ecumenical Councils have erred, and consequently that what he denominates the Catholic Church is both fallible and mutable. Persecution, therefore, is *inherent* in Popery: it is a *part*, an *integral part*, of the very system: nor can the Roman Church ever shake off its imposed obligation, without at the same time renouncing its own infallibility.

But, with Protestantism, the matter is the very reverse. Unfettered by the chains of an imagined infallibility, Protestants censure and disown, without scruple, whatever deeds of their predecessors they observe to be unwarrantable and unscriptural. In *their* system, persecution is *incidental*, not *inherent*. Their fathers, so far as they practised it, learned the evil lesson in the school of Rome: but the deeds of their fathers they neither justify nor recognise as forming any part of *their* code of belief and duty.

In short, Popery stands precluded, by her own claim of infallibility and immutability, from reprobating and disowning the sanguinary abominations, which have systematically characterised the Roman Church. She may retort the charge of persecution upon Protestantism, to serve the purposes of controversy and to mislead the sciolists of a babyish liberalism: but she well knows, that *she* dares not to join her rival, in pronouncing all

Accordingly, from whatever point we reckon this period, the Papacy has domineered during the space of at least twelve centuries.

3. We have now ascertained both the ten larger horns and the eleventh smaller horn of the great Roman beast: from these premises, therefore, we shall be fully prepared to identify the three primary kingdoms, which are destined to fall before the eleventh little horn or the spiritual kingdom of the Papacy.

(1.) In order, however, that such an investigation may be satisfactorily conducted, we must begin with inquiring into the import of the prediction concerning their fall.

persecution for conscience sake, by whomsoever and whensoever conducted, to be damnable and accursed and abominable and unscriptural. Hence it is, that, whatever may be the language employed by private Romanists, the highly respectable Mr. Butler for instance; their Church acknowledges not their unauthoritative assertions. Mr. Butler may give a theological colour to the political executions of the Elisabethan age; or, if he be able, he may, with my free consent, prove them to be cases of religious persecution: but, while he knows that all persecution is reprobated by at least modern Protestants, he will, I suspect, find it beyond the limits even of *his* extensive reading to produce an instance, where the twenty seventh and third canons of the third and fourth Lateran Councils have ever been formally condemned and disowned, as impious and unscriptural, by the Pope and Cardinals and Bishops of the Roman Church speaking authoritatively *ex cathedra*. When prophecy makes persecution a badge of the eleventh little kingdom, it does it, I apprehend, under the aspect, not of *incidental*ity, but of *systematic and indivisible inherency*.

Now the fall of the three horns is described, with somewhat varied phraseology, in three different passages of the vision of the four wild-beasts.

In the first passage, Daniel himself is the speaker. *I considered the horns : and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots*¹.

In the second passage, Daniel is also the speaker. *Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, and of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up and before whom three fell*².

But, in the third passage, the interpreting angel is the speaker. *The ten horns are ten kings, that shall arise out of this kingdom : and another shall rise behind them ; and he shall be diverse from the first ; and he shall subjugate three kings*³.

There is a difference in the phraseology of these three passages, which I conceive to be not accidental but designed.

When Daniel is the speaker, he simply describes the appearance which presented itself to him in the vision. As he was contemplating the ten horns of the wild-beast, he beheld an eleventh little horn gradually and stealthily springing up behind and among them. While this eleventh horn was thus increasing in size, three of the first or the original

¹ Dan. vii. 8.

² Dan. vii. 19, 20.

³ Dan. vii. 24.

ten horns, which were before *it* as *it* was specially behind *them*, were successively eradicated in its immediate vicinity, and fell prostrate at its feet. By what means they were eradicated, he does not tell us : but, that their subversion tended to the aggrandisement of the eleventh horn, may be plainly collected from his saying, that they were plucked up before that horn.

On the other hand, when the interpreting angel is the speaker, he does not superfluously enter into any description of the visional conflict beheld by Daniel : but he explains the symbols, and specifies the result of that conflict. The ten horns are ten kings or kingdoms : the little horn is another kingdom, different in its constitution and appearance from the ten first : and this little horn or kingdom is destined to subjugate those three kingdoms, which the prophet had seen eradicated in its immediate presence. Such is the explanation, given by the interpreter. Like Daniel, he leaves us in the dark as to the means by which the three kingdoms should be eradicated : but he explicitly tells us, that the three eradicated kingdoms should be subjugated by the little kingdom ; he declares, that, when those three kingdoms should be overthrown, the little kingdom should acquire their dominions and should thus become a temporal sovereignty at their expence. He does not positively teach us, so far as I can perceive, that the little kingdom *itself*, by its own immediate agency, should eradicate three of the ten larger kingdoms ; an error, into which com-

mentators have, I believe, universally fallen : he only informs us, that, when three kingdoms should have been eradicated, mediately or immediately, by whatever instrument or instruments, the little kingdom should reap the benefit of their eradication ; for it should forthwith subjugate their dominions, or reduce them under its own sway and sovereignty.

The sum, then, of the prophecy, as collected partly from Daniel's account of what he saw and partly from the explanation of the interpreting angel, is this. Three of the ten primary Roman kingdoms, which, in point of geography, stood specially before the eleventh smaller kingdom, are to be eradicated, in the immediate presence of that kingdom, by some means and by some instruments which are left unspecified : and, when those three kingdoms shall have been thus eradicated, their dominions, or at least the bulk of their dominions, are to be subjugated by the eleventh little kingdom, and are henceforth to constitute a temporal sovereignty over which the head of that eleventh little kingdom shall preside as the acknowledged civil governor.

This, if I mistake not, is the real drift of the prophecy : and the identification of the ten larger horns and of the eleventh little horn, which has now been established, will lead us with much facility to its true interpretation.

The ten primary kingdoms, which the ten Gothic nations founded upon the platform of the Western Empire, are, as we have seen ; 1. The Vandalic,

2. The Suevic, 3. The Alanic, 4. The Burgundian, 5. The Francic, 6. The Visigothic, 7. The Anglo-Saxon, 8. The Herulo-Turingic, 9. The Ostrogothic, and 10. The Lombardic : while the eleventh little kingdom, which was synchronically springing up during their formation and which is plainly described as rising from the same territorial platform, is The spiritual kingdom of the Papacy.

From this arrangement, two very evident consequences necessarily result.

If ever three Gothico-Roman kingdoms were eradicated before the spiritual kingdom of the Papacy, their names must appear in the catalogue of the ten primary kingdoms which is here exhibited.

And, if ever three of those ten Gothico-Roman kingdoms were thus eradicated, they can only have been such three as were all seated in Italy.

The necessity of these two consequences needs scarcely to be pointed out. With respect to the former of them, since the three eradicated kingdoms are declared to be three of the ten *first* kingdoms ; we must obviously seek their names, in the list of the ten *primary* kingdoms established upon the platform of the Western Empire, and not in any gratuitous list of ten *later* kingdoms : and, with respect to the latter of them, since the three kingdoms in question are to be eradicated *before* and *in the immediate presence of* the little kingdom, since that little kingdom is the Papacy, since the seat of the Papacy is Italy, and since the Papacy is to sub-

jugate their dominions when they shall have been eradicated; the seat of all the three eradicated kingdoms can only be the region of Italy.

(2.) If, then, we cast our eyes upon the preceding list of the ten primary kingdoms, we shall perceive, that the only three, which were seated in Italy, are the Herulo-Turingic, the Ostrogothic, and the Lombardic: and, if we next turn to history, we shall find, that these three identical kingdoms were successively eradicated in the immediate presence of the Papacy before which they were geographically standing, and that the temporal principality which bears the name of *St. Peter's Patrimony* was carved out of the mass of their subjugated dominions.

In the year 476 or 479, Odoacer, king of the united Heruli and Turingi, put an end to the Western Empire, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Italy. Hence, by the geographical position of his kingdom, he stood *before* and in the immediate presence of the Papacy: and he became, accordingly, *one* of the three horns, which the voice of prophecy had destined to eradication.

The instrument, to whom was committed the task of subversion, was Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths or Gruthungi. Leading his hardy troops from their original settlements in Mœsia and the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he descended from the Julian Alps, and displayed his banners on the confines of Italy. Victory crowned his enterprise: "from the Alps to the extremity of Cala-

bria, Theodoric reigned by right of conquest : and, in the year 493, he was accepted, as the deliverer of Rome, by the senate and the people¹.

The Ostrogothic kingdom now occupied the place of the eradicated Herulò-Turingic. Hence, by its similar geographical position, it equally stood *before* and *in the immediate presence of* the Papacy : and, accordingly, it became the *second* of the three horns, which by prophecy were doomed to be subverted.

On this occasion, the appointed instrument of destruction was the Eastern Roman Empire. After the kingdom of the Ostrogoths had subsisted in Italy forty four years, it was attacked by Belisarius : and, at length, in the year 553, it was utterly eradicated by Narses the lieutenant of Justinian and his auxiliaries the Lombards².

Italy now became a province of the Constantinopolitan Empire ; and, as such, it was governed by an officer who was styled *the Exarch of Ravenna*. Scarcely, however, was the Exarchate established, when the Lombards, who had lent their assistance to Narses in his attack upon the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, began to meditate the conquest of Italy for themselves. Narses was engaged in the settlement of that country under the rule of the Eastern Emperor, from the year 554 to the year 568 : and

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 221—228. vol. vii. p. 9—15.

² Hist. of Decline, vol. vii. p. 217—257, 355—389.

it was in the year 567, that Alboin, king of the Lombards, undertook the subjugation of it. Descending from the same Julian Alps that his predecessor Theodoric had done, he became, in the year 568, without a battle or a siege, master of Italy from the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome. Hence the kingdom of the Lombards, by occupying the very same geographical position as its two eradicated predecessors the kingdom of the Herulo-Turingi and the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, similarly stood *before* and *in the immediate presence* of the Papacy : and, accordingly, by such a collocation, it became the *third* of the three horns, which were destined to fall before the eleventh little horn.

The predetermined instrument of subversion was now the kingdom of the Franks. Alarmed at the growing power of the Lombardic king Aistulphus, who in the year 752 had completely subdued the feeble though hitherto subsisting Exarchate of Ravenna, the Pope applied for assistance to Pipin king of France. The call was readily obeyed : and, in the course of two successive expeditions into Italy, Pipin wrested from that prince the whole district of the Exarchate. After this double chastisement, the Lombards languished about twenty years in a state of decrepitude and decay. Charlemagne had now succeeded his father Pipin : and, like him, he assumed the character of the champion of the Church. At the request of the Pope, he formally undertook

his cause; entered Italy at the head of a large army; and, in the year 774, completely eradicated the horn of Lombardy¹.

(3.) Three out of the ten primary kingdoms thus fell *before* and *in the immediate presence of* the eleventh little horn: but, to this circumstance which was beheld by Daniel, the interpreting angel adds another circumstance; namely, that the three eradicated kingdoms should be subjugated by the little kingdom, or that the little kingdom should acquire a temporal sovereignty carved out of the late dominions of the three eradicated kingdoms.

Let us, then, observe the accuracy, with which this part also of the prediction has been completed.

The names of the Carlovingians are consecrated, as the saviours and benefactors of the Roman Church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vii. p. 398—401. vol. viii. p. 122—129. vol. ix. p. 144—150. I was not aware, until long after I had been led by history to this appropriation of the three eradicated horns, that I had been anticipated by Dr. Allix.

Ex his decem regnis tria avulsa sunt, ut cresceret parvum cornu. Herulorum regnum ab Ostrogothis regibus destructum est, non diu postquam Romam et Italiæ maximam partem occupaverant: anno scilicet Christi 493. Ostrogothi a Longobardis victi sunt, anno 553. Longobardi demum a Carolo Magno, ita sunt debellati, anno 773, ut ille non sibi Romam et Italiam subjecerit, sed ipsam Romam Pontifici quoad utile dominium dono dederit. Allix de duplic. Mess. advent. p. 18, 19. •

The concurrence of Dr. Allix much strengthens my conviction of the propriety of this arrangement.

the temporal dominion of cities and provinces : and the donation of the Exarchate was the first-fruits of the conquests of Pipin. Aistulphus, with a sigh, relinquished his prey : the keys and the hostages of the principal cities were delivered to the French ambassador : and, in his master's name, he presented them before the tomb of St. Peter.' The ample measure of the Exarchate might comprise all the provinces of Italy, which had obeyed the Emperor and his vice-gerent : but its strict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara ; while its inseparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Appennine. This splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion : and the world beheld, for the first time, a Christian Bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince ; the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom, the inhabitants of the dutchy of Spoleto sought a refuge from the storm, shaved their heads after the Roman fashion, declared themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter, and completed by this voluntary surrender the present circle of the Ecclesiastical State. That mysterious circle was enlarged to an indefinite extent, by the verbal or written donation of Char-

lemagne; who, in the first transports of his victory, despoiled himself and the Græek Emperor of the cities and islands which had formerly been annexed to the Exarchate. But, in the cooler moments of absence and reflection, he viewed, with an eye of jealousy and envy, the recent greatness of his ecclesiastical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promises was respectfully eluded: the king of the Franks and Lombards asserted the inalienable rights of the Empire: and the temporal sovereignty of the Pope was ultimately fixed to the well-defined limits of the Patrimony of St. Peter¹.

4. Having now fully described the great Roman beast, and having exhibited the character and exploits of his domineering little horn, Daniel proceeds, in the highly figured language of the Hebrew prophetic school, to set forth the judicial punishment and final destruction of these two Powers which had so long harassed and worn out the saints of the Most High.

In a strain awfully borrowed from the solemnities of the literal day of judgment, when the fate both of the good and of the bad will be irrevocably determined, he foretells, that the beast and his little horn shall be judged by the Ancient of days; that, through the sitting of this judgment, the dominion of the little horn shall be taken away by consuming and destroying it unto the end, or unto

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 156—159.

that time of the end which synchronises with the expiration of the fated three times and a half; and that, when the end shall arrive and when the Son of man shall come in the clouds of heaven, the beast shall be slain and his body shall be given to the burning flame. *

The whole of this, lofty as may be the style wherein it is announced, takes place *in the present world*; nor is the predicted judgment to be viewed under any other aspect than that of a judicial punishment *upon earth* inflicted through the agency of God's superintending Providence: for, *after* the destruction of the beast and his little horn, the saints receive a kingdom UNDER the whole heaven and therefore UPON the earth which we now inhabit.

As for the time when this judgment commences, it is no further defined by Daniel than as *preceding* the expiration of his three times and a half: for, since the judgment is to sit *unto* the end, and since the end or the time of the end synchronises with the expiration of the latter three times and a half; the judgment itself must plainly commence *before* the end and therefore *before* the expiration of the latter three times and a half. Accordingly, the judgment is described as commencing, on the part of the Ancient of days, *previous* to the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven for the purpose of finally destroying the beast and his little horn at the close of the latter three times and a half and of receiving a kingdom upon earth in conjunction with his saints.

St. John, however, has been more explicit. The judgment, which Daniel *generally* describes as commencing *before* the time of the end, is *especially* said by St. John to commence with that seventh apocalyptic trumpet which introduces the third great woe¹. But the seventh trumpet also introduces the effusion of seven successive vials: and, at the effusion of the seventh vial, the three times and a half expire and Daniel's time of the end arrives². Therefore St. John, like Daniel, places the commencement of the judgment *before* the expiration of the latter three times and a half. Yet he gives the additional note, as we have just seen, that the judgment *also* commences with the seventh trumpet and therefore with the third great woe. Hence, if the season of the third woe be future, the judgment of the beast and the little horn must be future also: and, conversely, if the season of the third woe have already arrived, the judgment of the beast and the little horn must have already commenced.

Now, as we shall hereafter find, the third great woe commenced in the year 1789 with the portentous revolution of France³. Therefore that judgment, which through the agency of God's superintending providence is destined to take away the dominion of the little horn by consuming it unto the end, must *already* have commenced with that

¹ Compare Dan. vii. 9, 10, with Rev. xi. 14—18.

² See above book ii. chap. 4. § I. 3. II. 2.

³ See below book vi. chap. 2. § III.

series of extraordinary revolutions, which we ourselves have beheld, and which (under the image of a violent concussion of the allegorical powers of heaven) our Lord foretold as the sign of his judicial coming¹. The end, however, is not yet : but, when the seventh vial shall be poured out and when the latter three times and a half shall have expired : then will occur the figurative judicial coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven ; then will the beast and his little horn be finally destroyed ; and then, by such a diffusion of pure and practical religion as the world never yet witnessed, will the millennial reign of Christ and his saints commence².

¹ See above book ii. chap. 1. § II. 2.

² That is to say, the synchronism of Dan. vii. 9, 10, with Rev. xi. 14—18. So far as I can judge, the synchronism is indisputable ; for the circumstances, the agents, the patients, and the times, are identical. Accordingly, this synchronism is justly asserted by Mr. Mede. Compare Oper. lib. iii. p. 491, with p. 530—533.

CHAPTER III.

THE VISION OF THE RAM AND THE HE-GOAT.

IN the third year of Belshazzar king of Bâbylon, or two years subsequent to the communication of the vision of the four great beasts, another remarkable vision was seen by the prophet Daniel.

As, in the last-considered vision, he imagined himself to be standing on the shore of the Mediterranean sea, though corporeally he was a captive in Babylon: so, in the present vision, though his bodily frame was still in the metropolis of Chaldæa, his dream transported him in fancy to Shushan the capital of Persia, and placed him on the bank of the imperial river Ulai.

Here, while he was viewing the river, a ram seemed to him to stand up before it, distinguished by two lofty horns: but the one was higher than the other; and the higher horn was raised up behind the lower, so as at length to overtop it, though originally smaller in size. After a certain indefinite space of time, the ram appeared to push westward and northward and southward; so, that no other beasts could stand before him, nor was there any Power which could deliver his enemies out of his hand: hence, being above all controul, he did according to his will, and became great.

But, while the ram was in the plenitude of his might, a he-goat came bounding from the west with such rapidity, that he seemed scarcely to touch the ground. Rushing upon the ram in the fury of his power, he smote him, and brake his two horns, and cast him down, and stamped upon him : for there was none, that could deliver the ram out of his hand. ✓

In consequence of this victory, the goat became very great : but, when he was in the height of his strength, the single large horn, which characterized him, was broken ; and, in its place, came up four eminent though smaller horns toward the four winds of heaven.

After these had sufficiently played their part upon the stage of empire, a little horn sprang forth out of one of them ; which soon became exceeding great toward the south and toward the east and toward the pleasant land. In its progress, it attacked the stars of heaven, and cast them down to the ground, and stamped upon them : for the celestial host was given up to its fury, on account of the daily sacrifice, by reason of some remarkable Apostasy. It even magnified itself against the prince of the starry host : insomuch that the daily sacrifice was taken away from him, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. Thus it hurled the truth to the ground, and practised, and prospered.

While Daniel was contemplating this extraordinary scene, he heard a holy one asking another holy one : *How long is the vision respecting the*

daily sacrifice and the Apostasy that maketh desolate, in its giving both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? To which question the reply was: *Until two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.* The prophet, however, wishing for some further information, one in the form of a man assured him, that, notwithstanding this numerical limitation so far as the cleansing of the sanctuary was concerned, the vision, in its entire length, should reach unto the time of the end or to the close of the latter three times and a half ¹.

Such was Daniel's vision of the ram and the he-goat: and, since a sacred exposition is attached to it in the same manner as a similar exposition is attached to the vision of the four great beasts, we have the grand outline of the prediction marked out to us with unerring certainty.

I. The ram, as the divine interpreter assures us, is the hieroglyphic of the Persian Empire, in which were united the two kingdoms of Media and Persia: whence that symbol coincides with the silver portion of the image and with the bear in the vision of the four great beasts. Such being the case, the two silver arms of the image, and the two sides of the bear, will answer to the two horns of the ram.

1. Those two horns are evidently the two dominant kingdoms of Media and Persia; while the body of the ram may be generally viewed, as the complete body of the Persian Empire.

¹ Dan. viii. 1—19.

The lower horn, like the left arm of the image and the depressed side of the bear, represents the kingdom of Media : which, during the early period of its alliance with Persia, held the more elevated rank ; but which, during the later period of it, was overtopped and eclipsed by the sister kingdom.

The higher horn, like the right arm of the image and the loftier side of the bear, represents the kingdom of Persia : which, at first, acted only a subordinate part to Media ; but which, afterward, when the two kingdoms were joined together by Cyrus under one sovereign, was raised up from behind it, so as to become its decided superior both in rank and in power.

It is not unworthy of observation, that, as the scene of the vision is laid at Shushan the capital of Persia ; so the symbol of a ram has been chosen, with singular poetical decorum, to represent the Medo-Persian Empire. That symbol was, in fact, the hieroglyphic of their sovereignty, as adopted by the Persians themselves : much on the same heraldic principle, as in modern times an eagle is the symbol of Austria and a lion of England. Travellers have observed, that rams' heads with horns, the one horn higher and the other lower exactly as they are described in the vision of Daniel, may still be seen sculptured on the pillars of Persepolis ¹. The purport of this hieroglyphic is made

¹ Bp. Chandler's *Vindic.* chap. i. sect. 4. p. 154. Wetstein in *Rev.* xiii. 11.

abundantly clear by the prophecy: while, on the other hand, the existence of the hieroglyphic shews the reason why the good Spirit of God has thought fit to symbolise the Medo-Persian Empire by a ram with two unequal horns.

2. The Medo-Persian ram was seen by Daniel to push westward and northward and southward from his own proper station or platform, the territorial dominions of the two dominant kingdoms of Media and Persia: and the special characteristic of his victorious pushing is, that no beasts could stand before him, and that none could deliver his foes out of his hand; insomuch that he did according to his will, and became great.

By the pushing of the ram is meant, as all are agreed, a series of conquests: but there has been some difference of opinion, as to *what* series of conquests is intended. Some believe, that the conquests of Cyrus, by which the Medo-Persian Empire was erected, are the conquests alluded to: others maintain, that the conquests of Darius-Hystaspis and his successor Xerxes, by which the Medo-Persian Empire was enlarged, are rather to be understood by the ram's allegorical pushing.

(1.) Let us begin with considering the claim of the conquests, which were made by Darius and Xerxes.

As for the conquests now under consideration, I will venture to say, that it is both *improbable* and *impossible* that they should be the conquests of the ram alluded to in the prophecy.

The *improbability* of such a circumstance will

immediately appear to any person, who bestows a moment of thought upon the litigated question.

It was in the third year of Belshazzar or in the year before Christ 553, that Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat. Now, at this epoch, the Medo-Persian career of aggrandisement was just commencing. If, therefore, we refer the pushings of the ram to the conquests of Darius and Xerxes, we shall be obliged to suppose, that the all-wise Spirit of God totally overlooked the conquests of Cyrus, by which the Medo-Persian Empire was erected, as a thing of no moment; and that he rather chose exclusively to describe the conquests of Darius and Xerxes, by which the Medo-Persian Empire was augmented, as a thing infinitely more deserving the notice of prophecy. But is this probable? If it *be*, then on the same principle we ought to conclude, that the victories of the Roman beast in the preceding vision do not relate to the victories achieved before the time of Augustus, but that they ought to be exclusively referred to the transdanubian and transeuphratic conquests of Trajan.

Thus destitute of probability is the interpretation, which would totally shut out the vast conquests of Cyrus, and which would altogether identify the pushings of the ram with the later conquests of Darius and Xerxes.

But improbability is not the sole objection to this arrangement: to improbability we must add *impossibility*.

The prophet does not *simply* describe a series of conquests : he describes a series of *unchecked* conquests. Not only did the ram push westward, and northward, and southward : but likewise, as we are carefully told, no other beasts or Empires could stand before him ; neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand. This account of the ram's conquests is wholly irreconcilable with the conquests of Darius and Xerxes. Those princes might indeed add various provinces to the Medo-Persian Empire ; and they might be successful in many of their enterprises : but they did *not* find all other Powers incapable of effectual resistance ; they did *not* find all other states unable to deliver out of their hand.

For let us attend to simple matter of fact, as it is detailed in authentic history.

In the year before Christ 513, Darius crossed over in Europe, and invaded Scythia : but the war-like inhabitants of that country so harassed and distressed him, that he was glad to return with the moiety of his army, having lost the other half in this unfortunate and ill-projected expedition. In the year 509, he invaded India : and here he proved successful ; for he reduced a considerable portion of it, and made it the twentieth prefecture of his Empire. In the year 503, he made an attempt upon the island of Naxos : but, after the Persians had spent four months in besieging the principal city, they were obliged to retire and give up the enterprise. In the year 500, the Athenians and

the Ionians invaded the Persian Empire with so much success, that they burned Sardis. In the year 497, victory inclined to the side of Darius : and the Ionians were reduced. In the year 495, the Persians were still successful : for they subjugated the Hellèspont and the Thracian Chersonesus. In the year 494, the scale turned against Darius : for Mardonius, whom he sent to attack the Greeks, miscarried in the expedition, and returned with great loss. In the year 491, the Persians were totally defeated in the battle of Marathon. In the year 487, Egypt revolted from Darius. In the year 484, Xerxes succeeded in reducing the revolted province of Egypt. In the year 480, the Greeks completely defeated him in the naval fight of Salamis. In the year 479, the Persians were vanquished at Platèa and Mycalè on the same day. In the year 470, Cimon gained, in one day, two victories over the Persians near the river Eurymedon ; the first by sea, the second by land. In the year 469, he made from the Persians various conquests on the Hellespont and in other quarters. And, in the year 468, Xerxes, discouraged by so many defeats, gave up the hopeless project of subjugating Greece.

I have now simply detailed, in the form of annals, the operations of the Medo-Persian ram during the period, which some commentators have supposed to be the period of the uniformly successful and resistless pushings described in the vision. Let the cautious inquirer decide, how far the supposed ac-

complishment of the prophecy tallies with the prophecy itself. In the vision, the ram pushes westward and northward and southward : not a single hieroglyphical beast is able to stand before him : not a single Power can deliver out of his hand : he does according to his will, and becomes great. Such are the deeds of the symbolical ram, as beheld by Daniel : and what, according to the present interpretation, are the corresponding deeds of his Medo-Persian antitype ? India is added to the Empire of Cyrus, and Egypt is recovered : but the Persians are discomfited, with great loss in Scythia ; they are insulted and beaten, in six pitched battles, by the Greeks ; they lose a considerable part of their dominions in the west ; and they are at last, after repeated failures, compelled to give up the war with ignominy. Throughout this chequered scene, in which defeat and disgrace largely preponderate over victory and aggrandisement, I can discover nothing which reflects the lineaments of the prophetically pictured history of the ram.

To bring the whole matter to a point : *no* beast could stand before the ram, during the victorious period intended by Daniel ; *no* Power could deliver out of his hand ; he did *according to his will* ; he became *great*. But, before the Persian Empire, in the reigns of Darius and Xerxes, *other* beasts *could* stand successfully ; *other* Powers *could* deliver out of its hand ; it did *not according to its will*, for its will was repeatedly thwarted ; it became *less* by conquests made from it in the west. There-

fore it is impossible, that the reigns of Darius and Xerxes should constitute the period, which is characterized by the uniformly resistless pushings of the ram.

(2.) The limited conquests of Darius and Xerxes having been thus demonstrated, by the faithful voice of history, to have no connection with the pushings of the hieroglyphical ram ; let us next turn to those of Cyrus, by which the allied kingdoms of Media and Persia were erected into the vast Medo-Persian Empire.

That the inquiry may be satisfactorily conducted, I cannot do better than again follow the plan of throwing history into annals.

In the year before Christ 559, Neriglissar king of Babylon made war upon Cyaxares king of Media, who called Cyrus out of Persia to his assistance. In the year 556, Cyrus beat the Babylonians in a pitched battle, and killed their king Neriglissar ; after which he ravaged the whole country to the very walls of Babylon. In the year 551, Belshazzar perceived the necessity of taking some decisive measures to repress the encroachments of his enemies : and, for that purpose, he went into Lydia to Cræsus, who had always been his ally ; where, by his assistance, he made a very formidable confederacy against the Medes and Persians, hiring a numerous army of Egyptians and Greeks and Thracians and Asiatics, and sending it with Cræsus at its head to invade Media. In the year 549, Cyrus gained a complete victory over Cræsus : and,

immediately afterward, he laid siege to Sardis, which soon fell into his hands. From this time, he never made a single pause, until he became the undisputed lord of Asia : nor did he meet with a single check throughout the whole of his lofty career of victory. In the years 548, 547, 546, and 545, he brought all the lesser Asia under his dominion. In the years 544 and 543, he subdued Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. In the year 541, he reduced the whole of upper Asia. In the years 539 and 538, he took Babylon, and overthrew the Babylonian Empire. In the year 529, he died, according to the rational account of Xenophon and the Persian historians, full of years and glory, surrounded by his friends and in the capital of the great Empire which he had erected : for the idle figment of his destruction by the Scythians scarcely merits a serious confutation. And, in the years 526 and 525, his son Cambyses or Lohrasp brought to a close the never stopped career of the ram by the invasion and conquest of Egypt.

Here we have a series of conquests, which in every respect accords with the pushing of the ram as beheld by Daniel in his hieroglyphical vision. The conquests are those made by Cyrus : to which, we may even naturally conclude, that a vision, seen in the year before Christ 553, will refer, rather than to those of Darius and Xerxes ; both because they are prior in point of time, and because they are infinitely superior in point of importance. These conquests were made, in the precise direction

marked out by the prophecy : for, if we reckon from the military station of the ram in Elam, the Medo-Persians conquered Syria and Palestine toward the west ; the lesser Asia and the upper Asia, toward the north ; and Babylonia and Arabia and Egypt, toward the south ¹. Nor was the period of such conquests a mingled period of alternate success and disaster : in strict accordance with the prediction, the progress of the ram under Cyrus was a progress of *uninterrupted* triumph ; *no* beasts could stand before him, neither could *any* Power deliver out of his hand ; but he did strictly *according to his will*, and he became *great*. Hence, I think, there cannot be a doubt, that the conquests of Cyrus, with the supplemental conquest of Egypt by his son Cambyses, are the conquests of the ram alluded to in the prophecy.

3. The settling of this point is a matter of the greater importance, because it affects, at least negatively, the right calculation of the numerical period connected with the vision.

Those writers, who contend that the conquests of Darius-Hystaspis and his successor Xerxes are meant by the pushings of the ram, take occasion thence to compute the 2300 prophetic days from the commencement of those conquests. But it has

¹ It is not unworthy of note, as a matter which distinctly shuts out the conquests of Darius from the contemplation of the prophecy, that the chief conquest of that prince, the subjugation of a part of India, was made *toward the east* ; a geographical direction, totally unspecified in the vision.

been shewn, that, by the pushings of the ram, which, from being a comparatively small Power, made him *great*, we are compelled to understand the *prior* conquests of Cyrus¹. Such being the case, since the pushings of the ram are included within the chronological limits of the vision, since the conquests of Cyrus are denoted by those pushings of the ram, and since the 2300 prophetic days are declared to commence with the chronological commencement of the vision : it will plainly follow, that the 2300 days *cannot* be reckoned from the beginning of the conquests of Darius, but must on the contrary be reckoned from an *earlier* period.

Whether they ought to be reckoned from the beginning of the conquests of Cyrus, is another question : but, at all events, they *cannot* be reckoned from the beginning of the conquests of Darius ; because these later and much less important conquests are *not* the conquests intended by the pushings of the ram. If, indeed, the vision *chronolo-*

¹ Very remarkable is the precise accuracy of the language, employed in the prediction. The ram, we are told, *became great*, in consequence of his successful pushings. Anterior, therefore to his pushings, he was comparatively *small*. Now such a statement, as it exactly corresponds with the conquests of Cyrus, cannot, by any management, be made to agree with the conquests of Darius. Through the conquests of Cyrus, the Medo-Persian ram *became* great : through the conquests of Darius, it did not *become* great ; it was great *already*, previous to the commencement of those conquests. Hence again I conclude, that the pushings of the ram *must* relate to the conquests of Cyrus, and that they *cannot* relate to the conquests of Darius.

gically commences with the conquests of Cyrus : then, no doubt, the 2300 days are to be reckoned from the beginning of those conquests ; because they are to be reckoned from the chronological commencement of the vision. But, if the chronological commencement of the vision ought to be placed *earlier* than the conquests of Cyrus : then, of course, the 2300 days must be reckoned from an earlier epoch. The discussion of this point, however, belongs to another place¹ : at present, I have merely to remark, that the 2300 days *cannot* be reckoned from the beginning of the conquests of Darius : because those conquests are not intended by the pushings of the ram.

II. While the ram was in the plenitude of his power, notwithstanding he might have sustained some partial and temporary reverses subsequent to the uniformly victorious age of Cyrus, he was suddenly and violently attacked by a he-goat from the west ; which moved with such unexampled rapidity, that it seemed not to touch the ground. The consequence of this invasion was the complete overthrow of the ram : for the he-goat came close upon him, and smote him, and brake his two horns, and cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him.

The new hieroglyphic, which is now brought upon the stage, denotes, as we are taught by the interpreting angel, the kingdom of Greece : and

¹ See below book iii. chap. 3. § III.

that kingdom, during its rapid career from the west in the course of which it subverted the Medo-Persian Empire of the ram, was directed, I need scarcely say, by Alexander of Macedon.

After accomplishing this exploit, the he-goat, we are told, waxed very great: and, accordingly, we learn from history, that Alexander, after his conquest of Darius, extended his arms even into India, having previously reduced Egypt and Parthia and Hyrcania and Bactria and Sogdiana with all the other dominions of the ram.

As the symbol of the ram was studiously borrowed from the familiar national hieroglyphic of the Persians themselves: so has the symbol of the he-goat been homogeneously adopted, on a principle exactly similar. Two centuries before the time of Daniel, in consequence of a popular fiction, the Macedonians were denominated *Egeadaæ* or *the people of the goat*: and they assumed a goat as their national ensign or hieroglyphic, styling their chief city *Egeæ* or *the town of the goat*. In allusion no doubt to this national device, the son of Alexander by Roxana was styled *Alexander-Egus* or *Alexander the son of the goat*: and some of his successors are represented, on their coins, with the horns of that animal. I may add, that the Persian historians, evidently enough with a similar reference, are wont to style the victorious Macedonian, though they claim him for their own as the son of Darab by the daughter of the Grecian

*Philip, Secander Zul-Karnein or Alexander the horned*¹.

When the he-goat had become very strong, his single great horn was unexpectedly broken: and, instead of it, came up four conspicuous, though not equally large, horns, toward the four winds of heaven. From one of these four horns sprouted forth a little horn: which soon became exceeding great in a certain prescribed direction, which performed many remarkable exploits, and which was at length broken or crumbled away without any visible hand or agency.

1. The single great horn of the goat, as we are informed by the interpreting angel, is the first king or kingdom of Grecia.

Hence, on the same principle that the two horns of the ram are the two dominant kingdoms of Media and Persia, the single great horn of the goat is the dominant kingdom of Macedon: that is to say, it is the Greek kingdom of Macedon, from the time of its rise under Caranus or Perdiccas, to the time of its losing its imperial præminence over the whole Greek Empire. This last event happened, when it was broken in its dominant capacity: and it was finally broken in its dominant capacity, when, after the death of Alexander, his three feeble successors

¹ Justin. Hist. Philip. lib. vii. c. 1. Spanheim. de usu numism. vol. i. dissert. 7. p. 389, 399. Tarikh Jehan Ara. sect. ii. c. 1. p. 25.

by blood, namely his brother Philip-Aridèus and his two young sons Alexander-Egus and Hercules, were all murdered. Then started up the four regal horns, in the place of the single great horn : for, so long as any of the legitimate royal house remained, the legal fiction of Alexander's supremacy was kept up, and none of the leading captains ventured to assume the independent and sovereign title of *king* ¹.

2. The four conspicuous horns, which succeeded the single great horn, are, as the interpreting angel teaches us, four kingdoms ; which stand up out of the nation indeed of the great horn, but not with a degree of power equal to that of their mighty predecessor..

These, no doubt, like the four wings of the leopard, are the four Greek kingdoms ; which arose, upon the disruption of the prior dominant Greek kingdom, toward the four winds of heaven or toward the four cardinal points of the compass.

(1.) In the west, Cassander erected a kingdom out of Macedon and Greece.

(2.) In the north, Lysimachus erected a second kingdom out of Thrace and Bithynia and the adjoining regions.

(3.) In the east, Seleucus erected a third kingdom out of Syria and its dependent provinces.

(4.) And, in the south, Ptolemy completed the

¹ Cornel. Nepot. vit. Eumenis. § xiii. p. 82.

number of the predicted horns, by erecting a fourth kingdom out of Egypt.

3. Respecting the little horn, which sprang from one of these four conspicuous horns, the interpreting angel tells us, that it represents a kingdom fierce of countenance and teaching dark sentences, which geographically stands up in the hinder part of the Greek kingdom, which attains to an astonishing degree of power, which is no less impious than powerful, and which chronologically starts into existence when the apostates are come to the full or when some great Apostasy has been completed. From behind *which* of the four Greek kingdoms this formidable Power is geographically to arise, the interpreter does not tell us: but, having given us various notes by which we may recognise the Power in question, notes both circumstantial and chronological and geographical, he leaves us to gather from the event the particular Greek kingdom behind which that Power was destined to arise.

We have seen, in the vision of the four great beasts, that a little horn sprang up stealthily behind the ten larger horns of the fourth beast, that it obtained an extraordinary authority over the times and the laws and the saints, that it wore a look more stout than its fellows, that it is the same character as St. Paul's man of sin, and consequently that it is the head of the great demonolatrous Apostasy. We have further seen, that the times and the laws and the saints were given into the hand of this little horn, at the commencement of the

latter three times and a half or at the bisecting point of the seven times; that those latter three times and a half apparently commenced in the year after Christ 604; and that in the same year the demonolatrous Apostasy was completed, by acquiring, through the revelation of the lawless man of sin, a regular authoritative head. And we have lastly seen, that the little horn, thus characterised, is geographically fixed to the region where the ten larger horns arise or to the proper and exclusive Empire of the Romans in the West ¹.

Such was the little horn of the preceding vision: but the vision now before us speaks also of a *second* little horn; which should exert over the kingdom of the he-goat an impious authority not dissimilar to that exerted by the *first* little horn over the Western Roman kingdom of the ten-horned beast, which should wax great against the allegorical host of heaven, which should cast some of the figurative stars to the ground, which should take away the daily sacrifice from the Prince of the host, which should cast down the place of his sanctuary, which should have the host punitively given up to it by reason of some great Apostasy from the truth, and which itself should stand up or start into existence when the apostates should be come to the full or when the previously mentioned Apostasy should have been completed.

(1.) Now this *second* little horn certainly cannot

¹ See above book iii. chap. 2. § IV. 2.

be the *same* Power, as the *first* little horn ; notwithstanding they resemble each other in the circumstance of their alike being notoriously antichristian tyrannies. For to suppose their *identity* would not only be to impute to Daniel a superfluous repetition : but, what is much worse, it would be to charge him with a manifest incongruity of description and with a plain disregard of chronology.

The ten-horned wild-beast, from which the *first* little horn springs, is clearly the Roman Empire : and the four-horned he-goat, from one of whose notable horns the *second* little horn springs, is no less clearly the Macedonian or Grecian Empire. But it is incongruous to describe the *same* Power as the germinating little horn of two *different* beasts or Empires : for, as the symbolical imagery of Daniel is borrowed from the physical economy of animals, it would be a monstrous zoölogical anomaly to describe the *same* horn as growing upon the heads of two *different* beasts. Accordingly, no such ill-digested opinion will derive any support from history. The characteristic marks of the first little horn, which springs from the head of the Roman wild-beast, are such, whether personal or chronological or geographical, as to leave no reasonable ground for doubting that it is the symbol of the Papacy. But the Papacy, which sprang up out of the proper Roman Empire agreeably to the prediction, most assuredly did not spring up out of the Grecian or Macedonian Empire. Therefore the two little horns of the two beasts cannot be

identical, but must symbolise two entirely distinct Powers.

So again: the little horn of the Roman beast is rightly acknowledged by all commentators, whether ancient or modern, whether popish or protestant, to be the same character as St. Paul's man of sin. Now, by the revelation of the man of sin, is completed the great demonolatrous Apostasy at the beginning of the latter three times and a half: and the little Roman horn is *already* in existence, both *before* the commencement of that period, and *before* its own revelation in the capacity of the lawless one; for the times and the laws and the saints are given into its hand when that period commences, and they could not be given into the hand of a non-entity. But the little horn of the he-goat does not stand up, *until* the apostates are come to the full or *until* the Apostasy is completed: and the allegorical stars or the Christian Bishops, within the permitted range of its tyranny, are delivered up to it as a punishment for their lapsing into the Apostasy. Hence chronology, no less than circumstantial evidence, forbids us to *identify* the two little horns: for, though their respective careers of impiety begin very nearly about the same time, namely the epoch when the Apostasy is completed; yet the Roman little horn is in actual existence *before* the Grecian little horn. The one exists *previous* to the completion of the Apostasy, and indeed effects its completion by becoming its lawless head: the other starts up *after* the completion of

the Apostasy, and is allowed to domineer over the eastern apostates on account of their Apostasy. Therefore the two little horns cannot be *identical*.

(2.) What, then, is the Power, symbolised by the second little horn or the little horn of the Grecian he-goat?

From *three* very distinctly specified characteristics, this question may, I think, be answered, even before we proceed to examine the more minute circumstantial particulars detailed by the prophet.

Let us begin with noticing the *geographical* characteristic of the second little horn.

• Since the ten-horned beast symbolizes the Roman Empire; since, in the configuration of that beast, which (as severally portrayed by Daniel and St. John) swallowed up and comprehended the Empires of all its three predecessors, the ten horns geographically express the peculiar and exclusive Empire of the Romans; and since the little horn of that beast springs up behind and among the ten larger horns: we must evidently look for the little Roman horn in the same quarter, where we look for its ten larger companions; that is to say, we must seek it in the WEST. Accordingly, we have there found a Power, which exactly corresponds with the prophetic description of the *first* little horn, in every particular both chronological and personal. Hence, analogically, since the four-horned he-goat symbolises the Grecian Empire; and since those two principal horns, which soon swallowed up the two others or at least reduced

them to insignificance, were seated in Egypt and Syria: we must obviously look for the *second* little horn, which was to spring up behind the dominions of one of the four conspicuous horns, in the opposite region of the EAST. In fact, if we seek it behind the Macedonian horn in the west instead of behind the Syrian horn in the east, we shall encroach upon the proper Roman Empire, which is the peculiar stage of action allotted to the first little horn; an arrangement, alike contradicted by history and geography and chronology.

Such is the *geographical* characteristic of the second little horn; *it is to arise in the EAST*: let us next attend to its *personal* characteristic.

The *first* little horn, or the little horn of the Roman beast, typifies (as we have seen) a spiritual or ecclesiastical kingdom; which small as it was originally, became in process of time a great spiritual or ecclesiastical Empire, symbolised in the Apocalypse by a two-horned lamb-like beast¹. Hence, unless we wholly depart from the radically vital principle of homogeneous interpretation, the *second* little horn, or the little horn of the Grecian he-goat, must also represent a spiritual or ecclesiastical kingdom: which, small as it was originally, soon waxed very great toward the south and toward the east and toward the pleasant land or the land of Judæa; a description, which plainly makes the EAST (as we have already concluded) to be the peculiar

stage of the second little horn's ultimate greatness. For, as the two little horns are palpably homogeneous symbols, or symbols of the same species; their antitypes must, of necessity, be homogeneous Powers, or Powers of the same species, also. But the *first* little horn is the ecclesiastical kingdom of the Papacy. Therefore the *second* little horn must on the principle of homogeneity, be an ecclesiastical kingdom likewise ¹.

We have now ascertained the *geographical* characteristic of the second little horn; *it is to arise in the EAST*: we have also ascertained its *personal* characteristic; *it is to be an ECCLESIASTICAL KINGDOM*: nothing more, therefore, is requisite, than to ascertain its *chronological* characteristic.

With respect, then, to this point, on turning to the vision of the ram and the he-goat, we find, that the host of heaven, or the allegorical stars of a Church, are given up to the tyranny of the second little horn by reason of an Apostasy: and we are further taught, in the authoritative interpretation of that vision, that this second little horn, or the king fierce of countenance, stands up, when the apostates are come to the full, or when the already-

¹ I mean not to say, that, *abstractedly*, the symbol a little horn *must* represent an ecclesiastical or spiritual kingdom: I only wish to intimate, that, from the marked circumstantial affinity of the two little horns in the two visions of Daniel, the principle of homogeneity is violated, if, *in the concrete*, we explain the second little horn *temporally*, after we have explained the first little horn *ecclesiastically*.

mentioned Apostasy is completed. The question, then, is : Who are these apostates, and what is this Apostasy ? Now it is abundantly clear, that the apostates here spoken of must be, either the members of the ancient Levitical Church, or the members of its successor the Christian Church : whence it will follow, that the Apostasy must be an Apostasy, either of Jews before the first advent of our Lord, or of Christians after his first advent. Such being the case, if the little horn of the he-goat be the symbol of the individual king Antiochus-Epiphanes, as the older commentators were accustomed to maintain : then the apostates, his contemporaries, must doubtless be the Jews of that day ; and the Apostasy, on account of which the allegorical stars are given into his hand, must be an Apostasy of those Jews. In a similar manner, if the little horn of the he-goat be the Roman Empire viewed chronologically from its first acquiring the kingdom of Macedon, as Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Newton have supposed : then, again, the apostates must be the Jews who lived synchronically with the Roman conquest of Macedon, and their apostasy must have been completed immediately before that conquest. Thus it plainly appears, that the ascription of the Apostasy, mentioned in the present vision, to the Levitical Church before the first advent of Christ, depends wholly upon the application of the predicted character of the second little horn, either to Antiochus-Epiphanes, or to the Roman Empire from the conquest of Macedon.

If the little horn be the symbol, either of Antiochus, or of the Roman Empire; then, of course, the Apostasy of the present vision must be an apostasy of the Levitical Church before the first advent of Christ. But, if the little horn cannot be the symbol, either of Antiochus, or of the Roman Empire: then neither can the Apostasy of the present vision be any apostasy of the ancient Levitical Church. It is easy, however, to shew, that the second little horn *cannot* be the symbol, either of Antiochus-Epiphanes, or of the Roman Empire¹. Therefore,

¹ As the hinge of the present argument turns upon this position, it will be necessary for me to specify the grounds on which it is built.

I. Until the time of Sir Isaac Newton, it was the general opinion of commentators, both ancient and modern, that the little horn of the he-goat was the symbol of the individual king Antiochus-Epiphanes. Yet is this opinion so crude, so abhorrent from analogy, and so irreconcilable with the whole tenor of the prediction, that we can scarcely refrain from expressing our wonder, how it ever came to be started, much more how it was so commonly acquiesced in.

1. *Throughout the prophecies of Daniel, a horn never denotes an individual king, but always a kingdom or sovereignty.*

Thus the ten horns of the Roman beast are not the first ten individual Gothic kings, but the ten Gothic kingdoms: thus the two horns of the Medo-Persian ram are not the two individuals Cyaxares and Cyrus, but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia: thus the great horn of the Grecian he-goat is not the individual Alexander, but the dominant kingdom of Macedon anterior to the division of the Empire: and thus the four conspicuous horns, which sprang up in its place, are not the four individuals Cassander and Lysimachus and Seleucus and Ptolemy, but the four Greek kingdoms of which they were respec-

by a necessary consequence, the Apostasy of the present vision cannot be an apostasy of the ancient

tively the founders. Hence, analogically, the little horn of the he-goat cannot denote the individual Antiochus-Epiphanes: but it must assuredly be the symbol of some kingdom, small at its rise, though afterward becoming very great.

2. *Such an exposition introduces a palpable confusion into the whole hieroglyphic.*

Antiochus-Epiphanes, as king of Syria, was the existing representative or governor of the conspicuous Syrian horn of the he-goat. To make him, therefore, at the same time, a distinct little horn, is, in fact, during his reign, to confound the little horn with one of the four conspicuous horns.

3. *The character of the little horn does not answer to the character of Antiochus-Epiphanes.*

Antiochus did not become a great prince, after having been originally a petty prince: on the contrary, though for a season he was victorious in Egypt, he left the kingdom of Syria much as he found it. Neither can he be very aptly denominated *a king fierce of countenance*: for the mere threat of the Roman Popilius induced him at once to relinquish his attempt upon Egypt, which he was on the point of conquering.

4. *The chronological termination of the little horn's reign does not correspond with the chronological termination of the reign of Antiochus.*

We are twice assured, that the vision reaches to the time of the end: and it is manifest, that the exploits of the little horn occupy the last portion of the vision. Hence it follows, that the time of the end is the epoch of the little horn's destruction without hand. But the time of the end is the close of the latter three times and a half: and Antiochus died many centuries before even the commencement of that period. Therefore Antiochus cannot be the antitype of the little horn.

5. *The number, mentioned in the vision, can by no management be made to quadrate with the times of Antiochus.*

Levitical Church during *any* period of its existence. If, then, the 'Apostasy of the present vision cannot

I am persuaded, that, had it not been for the circumstance of the pollution of the literal temple by Antiochus, no person would ever have dreamed of identifying him with the little horn : but, Antiochus having performed that exploit, and a similar exploit being ascribed in the figured language of prophecy to the little horn, it was thence hastily taken for granted, that Antiochus and the little horn must needs be the same character. Yet, even when analogy has been violated by understanding the 2300 days as 2300 natural days, and even when the accurate phraseology of the interpreting angel has been wholly disregarded : still, by no contrivance, can these days be made to correspond with the history of Antiochus.

The term of 2300 natural days amounts to somewhat more than $6\frac{1}{4}$ natural years. But, from the first profanation of the temple by Antiochus to the subsequent feast of restitution and dedication, there elapsed rather more than 5 years : from the latter profanation of the temple to the same feast of restitution, 3 years and 10 days : and, from the sacrificing on the altar of Jupiter Olympius to the same feast of restitution, which all commentators on the present plan acknowledge to be the terminating point of the profanation, exactly 3 years.

Thus, even if the number be allowed to describe the period during which the daily sacrifice should be taken away, no ingenuity can make it quadrate with the pollution of the temple by Antiochus : but the fact is, the number does not describe the period during which the sanctuary should be polluted, whether that pollution be understood literally or mystically. The question asked is : *How long is the vision respecting the daily sacrifice and the Apostasy that maketh desolate, in its giving both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?* And the answer given is : *Until 2300 days ; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.* Hence it is plain, that the 2300 days constitute the length, not of the pollution of the sanctuary, but

be an apostasy of the ancient Levitical Church ; it must be an apostasy of the Christian Church : and,

of the vision which treats of that pollution from the commencement of the vision itself down to the incipient cleansing of the sanctuary : for the saint does not ask, *How long will the sanctuary be polluted?* but, *How long is the vision down to the time when the sanctuary shall be cleansed?* Such being the case, the 2300 days must undoubtedly be computed, from the chronological commencement of the vision or from the standing up of the ram in territorial sovereignty, not from the pollution of the sanctuary whatever may be the sense in which that pollution ought to be understood.

II. Reasonably dissatisfied with the old and vulgar exposition of the little horn of the he-goat, Sir Isaac Newton struck out a different interpretation founded upon a more skilful and systematic view of the language of symbols : and, in this, he has been followed by Bp. Newton, Dr. Zouch, and other modern commentators.

The persons, who have adopted this scheme, contend, that the little horn is the Roman Empire ; because it succeeded to the sovereignty possessed by the he-goat, in the same manner as the ten-horned beast of the preceding vision succeeded to the sovereignty of the Grecian leopard : that the Roman Empire became a little horn of the he-goat, when, advancing beyond its proper platform in the west, it subdued and annexed to itself Macedon and Greece : that, after it had thus become a little horn of the Grecian Empire, it pushed its conquests in the precise direction of the conquests attributed to its supposed prototype ; namely, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land : that it may eminently vindicate to itself the character of being a kingdom fierce of countenance and understanding dark sentences : that it became mighty as a horn of the he-goat, not by its own Greek power, but by the strength of Italy and the West : and that it notoriously stood up against the Prince of princes and took away the daily sacri-

if it be an apostasy of the Christian Church, it can

fice, when it crucified the Messiah and placed the abomination of desolation in the temple of Jerusalem. Sir I. Newton's Observ. on Dan. chap. ix. Bp. Newton's Dissert. on the Proph. diss. xv.

These points of resemblance are plausible, but they are not sufficient to establish the proposed interpretation.

1. It is at once *improbable* and *incongruous*, that the Power, which in a former vision was represented by the symbol of a great and terrible beast, should now be described under that of a little horn attached to the hieroglyphic of the Grecian Empire.

(1.) The supposition is *improbable*: because it is not likely, that two such radically different symbols, as a large distinct beast and a little horn of a quite different beast, should, with needless obscurity, be employed by one and the same writer to represent one and the same Power.

I know, that it is argued by the favourers of this hypothesis, that, when the Romans conquered Macedon, they became *in that capacity alone* a horn of the Macedonian beast; while, in the mean time, so long as we view them stationed upon their own peculiar western platform, their Empire is to be accounted a distinct fourth beast. But, if this mode of interpretation be allowable, the confusion, which it *must* introduce, will be endless. For, upon the same principle, as soon as the Greeks have conquered a single Persian province, we must begin to reckon their Empire a horn of the ram or the Medo-Persian beast: whence it will obviously follow, that the two Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, being originally provinces of Persia, must for that reason be accounted horns of the ram or the Persian beast, not (as they are described by the prophet) horns of the goat or the Macedonian beast.

(2.) The supposition is *incongruous*: because it violates, both the whole analogy of Daniel's hieroglyphical predictions, and the harmonical arrangement of the present vision.

only be that great demonolatrous Apostasy, so largely described by St. Paul, and so closely con-

In the vision of the four great beasts, each Empire is represented, with fitting dignity, by its own peculiar symbol : and, in the vision of the ram and the he goat, the same plan is followed in the exhibition of the successive Persian and Grecian Empires. Hence analogical congruity most plainly requires, that, in this last-mentioned vision, a similar plan should have been pursued in regard to the Roman Empire ; if indeed the introduction of that Empire was intended by the inspiring Divinity. For let us grant such to be the case ; and we shall immediately perceive the strange confusion, which will follow. The theory of Sir Isaac Newton is, that the vision of the ram and the he-goat relates to the three successive Empires of Persia and Greece and Rome ; Greece first conquering Persia, and then Rome conquering Greece. Now in what manner is this supposed series of historical facts depicted in the hieroglyphics of Daniel ? The Persian Empire is represented by a ram : and the Grecian Empire is symbolised by a goat, which subdues that ram. Thus far nothing can be more regular and congruous : and this very regularity and congruity prepare us to expect, that, when the Roman Empire is brought upon the stage to vanquish the goat as the goat had previously vanquished the ram, it would be represented by another warlike beast. Such, I will venture to appeal to any person, would be the obvious and natural and congruous mode of completing the hieroglyphical picture : for, if Persia and Greece be each represented by a *distinct* beast, analogy most imperiously requires that Rome should be similarly represented. But how is the picture-history filled up according to the theory before us ? Two *distinct* beasts are employed to symbolise the two successive Empires of Persia and Greece : but, while we are naturally and analogically expecting the appearance of a third *distinct* beast to symbolise the Roman Empire, we perceive nothing save a little horn of the Grecian beast ; which, though small at first, soon acquires an extraor-

nected by him with the man of sin. Here, then, we obtain a distinct chronological note, by which

dinary degree of power. Would any consistent painter thus pourtray the three *distinct* successive Empires, which are supposed by Sir Isaac Newton to form the subject of the present vision?

Nor does such an hypothesis violate only the analogy of Daniel's hieroglyphical predictions: it violates also the harmonical arrangement of the very vision which it claims to interpret. Of the four conspicuous horns, which arose upon the fracture of the single great horn, one was the kingdom erected by Cas-sander. Now this conspicuous kingdom was formed out of Greece and Macedon: hence Greece and Macedon were one of the four conspicuous horns of the he-goat. Yet this identical kingdom of Greece and Macedon, when subjugated by the Romans, is pronounced by Sir Isaac, as a Roman Power, to be the he-goat's little horn. Greece and Macedon, therefore, in the scheme of Sir Isaac, are at once the little horn and one of the four large or conspicuous horns.

2. The law of homogeneity is violated, if we interpret the little horn of the he-goat to symbolise either the Roman Empire or any other great secular Empire.

No one can read the two successive visions of Daniel, which relate to the four beasts and to the ram and the he-goat, without being arrested by the circumstance, that into each vision a little horn is most prominently introduced. Precisely the same symbol is twice employed; but in the one vision it is attached to the hieroglyphic of the Roman Empire, while in the other vision it is attached to the hieroglyphic of the Grecian Empire: and the first little horn bears so strong and marked a resemblance to the second little horn in various leading parts of its character, that some have even fancied them a single Power exerted in different parts of the world.

The two little horns, then, so far as hieroglyphical imagery is concerned, are without all doubt strictly homogeneous. But, if

we may determine the era of the rise of the second little horn. The king fierce of countenance, or the

the types be thus palpably homogeneous, their antitypes must be homogeneous likewise: that is to say, the two little horns must represent two Powers of the same species.

And now, let us ask, how far is homogeneity preserved in the exposition before us? Instead of being carefully and industriously maintained, it is wholly and manifestly disregarded. The first little horn is determined to be the Papacy: but the second little horn is pronounced to be the great secular Roman Empire from the time that it conquered the he-goat's province of Macedon and Greece. Here we have nothing homogeneous; nothing which corresponds with the studied and evident homogeneity of the symbols. In the one case, the hieroglyphic of a little horn is employed to represent the Papacy: in the other case, the self-same hieroglyphic of a little horn is employed to represent the secular Roman Empire during its career of victory in the east. If the same hieroglyphic may be used to represent two such totally dissimilar Powers, two Powers which are any thing rather than homogeneous Powers or Powers of the same species; there is an end of all harmony and certainty in the language of symbols. Retain the application of the first little horn to the Papacy; and you must of necessity relinquish the application of the second little horn to the secular Roman Empire: or, conversely, retain the application of the second little horn to the secular Roman Empire; and you must of necessity relinquish the application of the first little horn to the Papacy. The two applications cannot *both* be retained, without a complete sacrifice of the fundamental principle of homogeneity. If the first little horn symbolise the Papacy, respecting which no reasonable doubt can be entertained; the second little horn *must* symbolise a Power strictly analogical to the Papacy. But the secular Roman Empire is a Power of a totally different description. Therefore the secular Roman Empire cannot be symbolised by the second little horn.

little horn of the Macedonian he-goat, we are told, stands up, when the apostates are come to the full or when the great demonolatrous Apostasy is completed. But the great demonolatrous Apostasy was completed in the year 604, or at the commencement of the latter three times and a half, by its acquisition of an authoritative head through the revelation of the lawless one. Therefore the little horn of the Macedonian he-goat must stand up, in point of chronology, immediately after the year 604.

Thus have we ascertained three most important characteristics, by which the Power in question may be clearly distinguished.

Its *geographical* characteristic is, that IT SHOULD RISE IN THE EAST.

Its *personal* characteristic is, that IT SHOULD BE A SPIRITUAL OR ECCLESIASTICAL KINGDOM SMALL AT FIRST BUT AFTERWARD BECOMING VERY GREAT.

And its *chronological* characteristic is, that it SHOULD STAND UP IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE GREAT DEMONOLATROUS APOSTASY IN THE YEAR 604.

A Power, thus definitely pointed out, cannot be very easily mistaken. The most cursory reader of

It is obvious, that this same mode of reasoning excludes every other secular Power no less than the Roman Empire. The specific character of the first little horn being determined by its application to the Papacy, no exposition of the second little horn can be admitted, which is not avowedly built upon the principle of ascribing to it a specific character strictly analogous to that which is borne by the first little horn.

history will anticipate one, in pronouncing it to be Mohammedism or the spiritual domination of the Arabian Imposture.

With respect to *geography*, Mohammedism ROSE IN THE EAST; or in the eastern part of that range of country which constitutes the geographical platform of the metallic image and the object of Daniel's prophecies.

With respect to *personal character*, IT WAS A SPIRITUAL OR ECCLESIASTICAL KINGDOM SMALL AT FIRST BUT AFTERWARD BECOMING GREAT.

And, with respect to *chronology*, IT STOOD UP IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE GREAT DEMONOLATROUS APOSTASY IN THE YEAR 604. For, in the year 608 or 609, Mohammed began to preach his heterogeneous system of theology and to collect proselytes who should acknowledge him as the prophet of God. Consequently, Mohammedism stood up, as a spiritual or ecclesiastical kingdom, in the year 608 or 609.

Thus triply is Mohammedism demonstrated to be the little horn of the he-goat: nor is the matter less established by negative, than by positive, evidence. Mohammedism, as we have just seen, possesses all the three leading characteristics, by which the second little horn is so strongly distinguished: the antitype minutely agrees with its supposed type, both geographically and personally and chronologically. But it will be lost labour to seek for any other irreligious and persecuting Power, which rose up under similar circumstances of perfect cor-

respondence. Therefore, if Mohammedism be not the Power intended, no such Power has ever made its appearance, and the prophecy of Daniel has failed of its accomplishment.

(3.) I shall now proceed to examine, article by article, the whole prophecy respecting the little horn of the he-goat; that so the perfect correspondence of the Mohammedan Imposture with the symbol now before us may be made the more fully to appear.

The kingdom, symbolised by the little horn, is to rise up in the hinder part of the Grecian Empire, or in the region behind the territories which constitute that Empire: but it is to make itself a little horn of the he-goat at the expence of one of the four conspicuous horns, by invading the peculiar territory of that horn; an action, expressed in the hieroglyphic by the germination of a small horn from one of the four larger horns.

Such, accordingly, was the rise of Mohammedism. It sprang up in Arabia, which lies behind the Grecian Empire erected by Alexander. This circumstance could only be represented in the hieroglyphic after the manner, in which we actually find it represented. Hence a verbal explanation is given of a matter, which could not be expressed by a symbol. The interpreter informs us, that, although a certain kingdom of a fierce countenance was destined to establish itself within the Grecian Empire and so to become a horn of that Empire;

yet, in the first instance, it should stand up *behind* the dominions of the Grecian he-goat or *without* the limits of the territory which had been subjugated by Alexander. This is the verbal explanation of the matter : but, in the aspect of the hieroglyphic itself, since the exotic Mohammedism became very soon a horn of the he-goat by its invasion and conquest of Syria between the years 629 and 639, it appeared to Daniel as a little horn budding out of the conspicuous Syrian horn ; just as, in his former vision, the ten Gothic horns all appeared to spring from the head of the Roman beast, though, in regard to their primary origin, they all arose behind or in the hinder part of the Roman Empire. The two symbols of the ten-horned Roman beast and the four-horned Grecian he-goat are constructed on the same *principle* ; as Sir Isaac Newton rightly judged in *the ground* of his interpretation of the second little horn, though I deem his interpretation *itself* to be inadmissible : for the Roman Empire, which he supposes to be the little horn of the he-goat, sprang up, like Mohammedism, *without* the territories of the Macedonian Empire ; precisely in the same manner, as the ten Gothic horns of the Roman beast sprang up originally *without* the territories of the Roman Empire. Hence the two symbols of the ten-horned beast and the he-goat must doubtless be expounded, so far as is necessary, after the same manner.

The kingdom of the little horn is to arise, not only behind the Grecian Empire, which is, a

geographical characteristic ; but likewise when the apostates shall be come to the full or when the Apostasy shall be completed, which is a chronological characteristic.

By the apostates, here mentioned, the context plainly requires us to understand, though not *exclusively* to understand, those ecclesiastical stars with their laic followers, on account of whose apostasy from the truth the allegorical host of heaven throughout the territories of the he-goat were subjected to the tyranny of the little horn. But this Apostasy, which had long previously infected both the East and the West, was completed in the year 604, or at the commencement of the latter three times and a half, by its acquisition of an authoritative and powerful head through the revelation of the lawless one, when the times and the laws and the saints were given into the hand of the papal little horn. The apostates, therefore, in the chronological estimation of prophecy, came to the full at that epoch. Consequently, the kingdom, symbolised by the eastern little horn, is to stand up immediately after the year 604. Accordingly, either the year 608 or the year 609, as we follow the chronology of Prideaux or of Gibbon, is the date of the rise of Mohammedism¹.

‘ The Power, symbolised by the little horn, is at first to be small : but it is afterward to be-

¹ Prideaux’s Life of Mohammed, p. 11. Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 282.

*come great, in a direction toward the south and toward the east and toward the pleasant land: which last expression does indeed eminently direct our eyes toward Palestine; but which, if the native country of the little horn be considered, will more generally turn them toward the north*¹.

In the number of its proselytes, Mohammedism was originally but a very small ecclesiastical Power. The Arabian prophet began his career in the year 608 or 609: Mecca 'was the theatre' of his first labours: and his earliest converts were his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend. At length, by the persuasion of Abubeker, ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private lessons of Islam: the prophet persevered ten years in the now more public exercise of his mission: and the religion, which has since overspread so large a portion of the globe, advanced with a slow and painful progress within the walls of his native town².

Such was the horn of Mohammedism at its first rise: but, small as it was originally, it soon waxed exceeding great, and *that* in the very line marked out by the prophecy. Its conquests extended southward, over the large peninsula of Arabia, over the yet more important peninsula of Hindostan, over

¹ It is a mode of speech perfectly familiar in the Hebrew language. Thus, from the relative position of the Mediterranean sea to Palestine, the Jews were wont to express *the West* by the phrase *toward the sea*.

² Hist. of the Decline, vol. ix. p. 282—285.

Egypt, and over a considerable portion of central Africa ; eastward, over Persia and Bokhara ; and northward, over Palestine and Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and Greece and Tartary. Some conquests it likewise made westward ; *the sleeve of the robe*, as they are not unaptly denominated by the Mussulmanic writers : but they were neither so permanent nor so considerable, as its other acquisitions. Spain, after a vehement struggle, threw off its tyranny : and the piratical states of Barbary are not worthy to be mentioned with the solid and compact spiritual sovereignty, which it established over Greece, Persia, Syria, Asia Minor, Tartary, Arabia, and Egypt. Hence the prediction truly declares, that the principal theatre of its greatness should be the South, the East, and the North¹.

The kingdom in question is, in its aspect, to be fierce of countenance ; and, in its practice, is to be a teacher of enigmas or spiritual mysteries.

With respect to the aspect of Mohammedism, that wonderful ecclesiastical domination may well be described as a kingdom fierce of countenance, when the avowed maxim of its founder was to use no other engine of conversion than the sword. Of this ferocious spirit all its proselytes have largely partaken : and the language, held by one of its first converts, may be viewed as a specimen of the temper, which characterises the Imposture itself. *Friends and kinsmen*, said Mohammed to an as-

¹ See Hist. of the Decline, vol. ix. p. 501, 309, 423, 424.

sembly of his relatives in the fourth year after he had assumed the prophetic office, *I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will support my burden? Who among you will be my companion and my vizir?* No answer was returned, till the silence of astonishment and doubt and contempt was broken by the impatient courage of Ali. *O prophet, I am the man. Whosoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizir over them*¹.

So, with respect to practice, agreeably to its specific character of a little horn analogous to the ecclesiastical little horn of the Papacy, Mohammedism was avowedly and inherently a teacher of enigmas or spiritual mysteries. *There is no doubt in this book*, says the Koran concerning itself: *it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries of faith, and who believe in that revelation which hath been sent down unto thee. As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them, whether thou admonish them or do not admonish them*² *This book, the verses whereof are guarded against corruption and are also distinctly explained, is a revelation from the wise, the knowing, God*³.

¹ Hist. of the Decline, vol. ix. p. 284.

² Koran, chap. ii.

³ Ibid. chap. xi.

This book have we sent down unto thee, that thou mayest lead men forth from darkness into light, by the permission of their Lord, into the glorious and laudable way¹.

The kingdom typified by the little horn, is to wax great against the host of heaven; insomuch that it is to cast down some of the stars to the ground and triumphantly to stamp upon them. For, the daily sacrifice being taken away, and the sanctuary being polluted through a remarkable Apostasy from the faith; the host of heaven is to be given up to the little horn, on account of the daily sacrifice, and by reason of the Apostasy in question.

In the figured language of prophecy, the stars of heaven denote the spiritual pastors of God's Church: and the violent dejection of such stars from heaven to earth signifies a compulsory apostatising from their religion. On the same principle, the taking away of the daily sacrifice imports the abolition or interruption of the daily spiritual worship of God: and the pollution of the sanctuary through an Apostasy from the faith is the pollution of God's Church through a declension from evangelical soundness to unwarrantable superstition and will-worship².

We find the same imagery used in the Apocalypse to express the same condition of the Church during the gloomy period of the latter 1260 years.

¹ Koran, chap. xiv.

² See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 4. (2.)

The outer court of the figurative temple is left unmeasured : and both it and the holy city are given up to a race of paganising Gentiles, who trample them beneath their feet¹.

Such being the import of the phraseology employed by Daniel, the prophecy before us declares : that, the spiritual worship of God having been grievously interrupted and his Church having been lamentably polluted by a very extensive Apostasy from sound evangelical religion, the little horn of the he-goat should be permitted to raise itself up against the apostatising pastors, who should be given into its hand as a punishment for this their Apostasy ; and that the consequence of such a judgment should be, that the little horn should compel *some* (though not *all*) of them to renounce the faith which they had already corrupted, and that it should triumphantly stamp upon those who came within the immediate sphere of its influence.

The whole of this prediction has been most accurately and wonderfully accomplished.

According to a partially parallel prophecy of St. Paul, as it was rightly understood by Epiphanius even before its accomplishment, the Church of God, both in the east and in the west apostatised from the pure religion of Christ into a new species of demonolatry ; which, with a mere change of the venerated objects, was an exact transcript of the ancient demonolatry of the Pagans. When, in the year

¹ Rev. xi. 1, 2.

604, this Apostasy was completed, or (in the language of Daniel) when the apostates were come to the full; Mohammedism, or the kingdom fierce of countenance, stood up against the allegorical host of heaven or the degenerate pastors of the Christian Church. Such of them as lay within the territories of the Greek Empire, were specially given into the hand of this persecuting superstition: but, by its inroads into Africa and Spain and France and Italy, it waxed great against the whole host. Of the eastern clergy, it cast some to the ground, or compelled them altogether to renounce the Christian faith: and, as for those who still adhered to the religion which they had corrupted, it stamped them as it were under its feet with all the tyranny of brutal fanaticism. Yet the extraordinary success of Mohammedism was permitted, we are taught, solely as a punishment of a great defection in the Church. The stars were given into the hand of the little horn, as the appointed rod of God's anger: they were penally delivered up to its tyranny, by reason of their previous Apostasy into the demonolatrous superstition of the old Gentiles.

Agreeably to this prophetic account of the matter, the man of sin, or the ecclesiastical head of the Apostasy, is figuratively described in the Apocalypse, under the image of a fallen star, as opening the pit of the abyss, and as giving liberty to the Arabian locusts and their destroying monarch: while, in the same mystic volume, Mohammedism itself is represented, as being no other than a great

woe to the degenerate inhabitants of the Roman earth and a rod of punishment to an idolatrous Apostasy in the Christian Church¹.

The kingdom of the little horn is to magnify itself against the Prince of the host; and is to cast down the truth to the ground; and is to destroy the mighty and the people of the Holy Ones.

If the starry host be the pastors of the Church, the Prince of that host must obviously be the Messiah. Against this Prince of the host, accordingly, did Mohammedism professedly magnify its founder. The Arabian impostor allowed Jesus, the son of Mary, to be a prophet: but he maintained, that he himself was a greater prophet, and that the Koran was destined to supersede the Gospel. He taught his disciples, that *the piety of Moses and of Christ rejoiced in the assurance of a future prophet, more illustrious than themselves; and that the evangelic promise of the Paraclete or Holy Ghost was prefigured in the name, and accomplished in the person, of Mohammed, the greatest and last of the apostles of God*².

Thus did Mohammedism magnify itself against the Prince of the host: nor was it less characterised by violently casting down the truth to the ground.

¹ Rev. viii. 13. ix. 1—3, 20, 21. Mr. Gibbon introduces his account of Mohammedism with observing, that *the Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of Paganism*. Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 261.

² Hist. of Decl. vol. ix. p. 267.

*In his new revelations, the prophet of Medina assumed a fiercer and more sanguinary tone, which proves that his former moderation was the effect of weakness. The means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed: and he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth¹. Among these unbelieving nations, notwithstanding the humiliating toleration which was hardly granted to them, all, who bore the name of *Christians*, were reckoned. This is to acquaint you, says Abubeker in his circular letter to the Arabian tribes, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria, to take it out of the hands of the infidels: and I would have you to know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God². To the same purpose speaks the mandate of Caled. In the name of the most merciful God; from Caled to Amrou, health and happiness. Know, that thy brethren the Moslems design to march to Aiznadin, where there is an army of seventy thousand Greeks, who purpose to come against us, that they may extinguish the light of God with their mouths: but God preserveth his light, in spite of the infidels³. How these principles were reduced to practice, may be learned from the same chieftain's energetic language*

¹ Hist. of Decl. vol. ix. p. 294, 295.

² Ibid. p. 379, 380.

³ Ibid. p. 387, 388.

to the prostrate Greeks. *Ye Christian dogs, you know your option: the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. We are a people, whose delight is in war, rather than in peace: and we despise your pitiful alms, since we shall be speedily masters of your wealth, your families, and your persons*¹.

As for the mighty, whom it destroyed, and the people of the Holy Ones whom it massacred, every page of its early history teaches us how to make the proper application. The monarchies of Persia and Constantinople and Spain were successively destroyed by it: and the blood of the apostatising people of God profusely marked its footsteps in every direction.

The power of the little horn is to be mighty, but yet not by its own inherent power.

Since the kingdom here spoken of is an ecclesiastical kingdom, its own proper or inherent power must denote the proper or inherent strength of the theological system which it undertakes to enforce and to maintain. We are told, therefore, in the present clause of the prophecy, that the ecclesiastical kingdom of the eastern little horn should not become mighty by the inherent strength of its peculiar theological system, but that for its advancement it should rely upon an extraneous power which could not rightly be deemed its own.

Such precisely was the case with Mohammedism. Mighty as it soon became, it did not become mighty

¹ Hist. of Decl. vol. ix. p. 390.

through the unassisted instrumentality of its own natural strength. It avowedly relied, not upon the still small voice of reason and argument and evidence, not upon the louder claims of miracles which could neither be denied nor accounted for on physical principles, not upon its own inherent worth and purity, not upon its own unassisted power : but it avowedly relied upon the enthusiastic valour of its adherents, upon the extraneous strength of the Saracenic sword. Ten years Mohammed persevered in the exercise of his mission, depending simply upon the strength of his theological system ; and, during that period, Islamism *advanced, with a slow and painful progress, only within the walls of Mecca* : ten years more, after he had been acknowledged as prince of Medina, he persevered in the same task, while he personally fought in nine battles or sieges, and while fifty enterprises of war were achieved by himself or his lieutenants ; and, during that period, the whole of Arabia submitted to the religion of the martial prophet. Whence originated this marked difference in point of success ? During the first term, Mohammed *disclaimed the use of religious violence* : his ecclesiastical kingdom, therefore, which was not destined to be mighty by its own inherent power, remained weak and little and insignificant. But, during the second term which expired at the time of his death, and during also the long period which was evolving after his death, the extraneous power of the sword was called in : his ecclesiastical kingdom, therefore,

rapidly became mighty, though by no inherent or natural power of its own. *The sword*, said he to his intrepid followers, *is the key of heaven and hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven: at the day of judgment, his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk: and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim.* Here we have a distinct specification of the power, by which the little horn became mighty. It was a power, not inherently its own; but a power, extraneous and foreign¹.

The kingdom, symbolised by the little horn, is to cause craft to prosper in the land through its policy: that is to say, the kingdom, thus typified, is to be no less crafty than warlike.

On this characteristic point, let us hear the faithful voice of history.

In the exercise of political government, Mohammed was compelled to abate of the stern rigour of fanaticism, to comply in some measure with the prejudices and passions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation. The use of FRAUD AND PERFIDY, of cruelty and injustice, was often subservient to the propagation of the faith: and Mohammed commanded or approved the assas-

¹ Hist. of Decl. vol. ix. p. 285, 286, 294, 295, 296, 297.

sination of the Jews and idolaters, who had escaped from the field of battle. By THE REPETITION OF SUCH ACTS, the character of Mohammed must have been gradually stained: and the influence of such pernicious HABITS would be poorly compensated by the practice of the personal and social virtues, which are necessary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his sectaries and friends. Of his last years, ambition was the ruling passion: and a politician will suspect, that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor!) at the enthusiasm of his youth and the credulity of his proselytes. In the support of truth, THE ARTS OF FRAUD AND FICTION may be deemed less criminal: and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and justice of the end¹.

The kingdom, represented by the little horn, is to destroy many while in a state of negligent security.

This peculiarity was remarkably exemplified in the whole progress of the Saracenic arms. *The rival monarchies of Constantinople and Persia became, at the same instant, the prey of an enemy, whom they had been so long accustomed to despise²: Egypt and the narrow tract of the African province were suddenly invaded and subjugated, when they least anticipated such an event³: and*

¹ Hist. of Decl. vol. ix. p. 322, 323.

² Ibid. p. 360, 361, 367—369, 388—391.

³ Ibid. p. 427—429.

the Gothic kingdom of Spain, like most of the other conquests of the Saracens (in the Apocalypse aptly symbolised by a swarm of locusts), fell into their hands by indulging in the hollow security of peaceful carelessness¹.

Thus has the Mohammedan little horn destroyed many while slumbering in a state of false security: and thus accurately has the prophecy of Daniel been fulfilled in every particular, which the lapse of time has hitherto evolved.

The only remaining peculiarity, which the interpreting angel ascribes to the tyrannical superstitution of Arabia, is still future: the spiritual kingdom of the eastern little horn is destined, we are told, to be broken without hand.

Respecting this event, all, that we can at present decide with certainty, is the chronological epoch of its occurrence. It will take place at the time of the end or at the close of the latter three times and a half; to which period, as we are twice carefully taught, the entire vision of the ram and the he-goat will extend: for, since the exploits of the little horn are the concluding subject of the vision, the destruction of the little horn must of course be the chronologically latest event of it². Such being the case, the Mohammedan Imposture will begin to be broken without hand, at the time when the

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 469—474.

² Dan. viii. 17, 19. See the prophecy above, book ii. chap. 3. § I. 3.

great Antichristian Confederacy of the Roman beast is destroyed, and at the epoch when the Millennium is on the point of commencing: for the Antichristian Confederacy is destroyed, and the Millennium commences, at the time of the end and after the close of the latter three times and a half.

This circumstance may lead us to at least a probable conjecture, as to the import of the phrase which occurs in the prophecy. At the commencement of the Millennium, the Gospel will begin to be successfully preached throughout the whole world: and the issue will be the universal gathering of the Gentiles into the pale of the Christian Church. During this period, therefore, the Mohammedans will be converted to the true faith: and, when their conversion shall have become general, the spiritual kingdom of the eastern little horn will no doubt be broken. But, in that case, it will plainly have been broken without hand: for it will not have been broken by the sword of violence in the hand of an earthly conqueror, but by the invisible agency of the Holy Spirit inclining the hearts of its long-deluded votaries to renounce their errors and to embrace the faith of the true prophet of God.

Thus have we seen, that the little horn of the Macedonian he-goat answers, in every particular which has hitherto been accomplished, whether geographical or chronological or circumstantial, to the successful Imposture of Mohammed. The result, therefore, of the whole inquiry must be this:

that, by the eastern little horn, is symbolised the spiritual kingdom of Mohammedism¹.

III. Nothing remains but to settle the chronology of the present vision, both in regard to its entire length, and in regard to the period which is specifically mentioned in connection with it.

1. By the entire length of the vision, I mean the portion of time which it comprehends from its *chronological commencement* to its *chronological termination*.

¹ It may not be improper to remark, at the close of this discussion, that, although I have inclined to understand the original Hebrew word *אֲחֵרִית* in Dan. viii. 23, in the sense of *place*, rather than in the sense of *time*; analogously to the undoubted import of the parallel expression in Dan. vii. 24: yet the prediction will be equally accomplished, if, with our common English version, we understand the word in the sense of *time*.

The three first Empires were stripped of their *dominion*, indeed, by the conquests of the fourth Empire: but still, in the view of prophecy, as we are expressly informed by Daniel, their *lives*, agreeably to the complex appearance of the ten-horned beast of the Apocalypse and of the great compound metallic image of Daniel, are considered as being nevertheless prolonged. Dan. vii. 12.

Hence it is an indisputable fact, that the little horn of Mohammedism rose up, no less *chronologically* in the latter time of the Greek Empire, than *geographically* in its hinder part.

I prefer, however, the *geographical* sense of the original word, both because it harmonises better with the parallel phraseology of Dan. vii. 24, and because the next clause of the prediction is strictly *chronological*. Thus I both preserve homogeneity of expression, and avoid what in some sort would be tautological.

(1.) As for its *chronological commencement*, we have no concern with the particular year in which it was seen by Daniel: *abstractedly*, the vision may chronologically commence, either before that year, or in that year, or after that year; for, in fact, the chronological commencement of a vision has nothing to do with the epoch in which it may have been seen by a prophet. Hence we gain nothing as to settling the chronological commencement of the present vision, by knowing that Daniel saw it in the year before Christ 553: because he may have beheld this commencement, either *retrospectively* like that of the vision of the four beasts, or *prospectively* like that of the things noted in the Scripture of truth.

The chronological commencement of a prophetic vision, in the same manner as the chronological commencement of a literal history, must be determined solely, either by its own declaration, or by matters which are virtually equivalent to such declaration: and, on this point, nothing can be more evident, than that such a vision must chronologically commence from the earliest circumstance set forth in it. Hence the only question can be, as to the earliest circumstance which *is* set forth in the present vision.

. They, who would reckon the 2300 years from the beginning of the ram's conquests, maintain, that the present vision opens with those conquests: for, since the 2300 years are undoubtedly to be reckoned from the commencement of the vision, they

plainly cannot be *also* reckoned from the beginning of the ram's conquests, unless the conquests and the vision commence synchronically. But such an opinion, as to the circumstantial commencement of the vision, is very ill-founded. The vision does NOT open with the conquests of the ram. On the contrary, Daniel sees the ram *stand up*, BEFORE he sees him *pushing westward and northward and southward*. Hence the vision opens, not with THE PUSHING of the ram, but with the circumstance of his STANDING UP. Such being the case, the vision must chronologically commence with the circumstance of the ram's STANDING UP, not with the circumstance of his PUSHING.

What, then, are we to understand by the circumstance of the ram's STANDING UP, with which the present vision most undoubtedly opens ?

The identical word, which Daniel here employs when speaking of the ram, he perpetually uses elsewhere to describe THE RISE *of a Power or of an individual*, according as a Power or an individual forms his subject¹. Thus, in the vision of the things noted in the Scripture of truth, we read : *Behold, there shall STAND UP yet three kings in Persia ; and a mighty king shall STAND UP, that shall rule with great dominion and do according to his will*². Thus also, in the present vision, we read : *Four kingdoms shall STAND UP out of the*

¹ Heb. עָמַד.

² Dan. xi. 2, 3. See also xi. 20, 21, 31.

*nation ; and, in the hinder part of their kingdom, a king fierce of countenance shall STAND UP*¹. Hence, from the general phraseology of Daniel, I conclude, that, when he beheld THE STANDING UP OF THE RAM, he retrospectively beheld THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN MONARCHY.

Now the vision opens, not with THE PUSHING of the ram, but with the circumstance of his STANDING UP : and THE STANDING UP OF THE RAM denotes THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN MONARCHY ; just as the standing up of the fierce king, in this same vision, denotes the rise of the spiritual Empire of Mohammedism. Therefore, since the present vision opens with THE STANDING UP OF THE RAM, the chronological commencement of the present vision must evidently synchronise with THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN MONARCHY.

The *precise* year, in which this monarchy arose, cannot be determined from history ; though we may lay down, with some little care and attention, the time *about* which it arose.

If we are to credit the more romantic of the Persian historians, Caiumuras, the founder of their Empire, was the great-grandson of Arphaxad the grandson of Noah : but, while national vanity leads them to make this extravagant assertion, the numerical tale of the kings who constitute their first and second dynasties, as arranged in the more moderate though still too ample chronology of Mirk-

¹ Dan. viii. 22, 23.

hond, happily demonstrates it to be a gross falsehood.

The Pishdadian dynasty begins with Caiumuras, the founder of the monarchy; and it comprehends a succession of eleven sovereigns: while the Caianian dynasty, which begins with Cai-Kobad, similarly comprehends a succession of ten princes. Now, of the Caianian dynasty, the two last kings are Dara and Secander: and we are told, for the evident purpose of obliterating the disgrace of the Macedonian conquest, that Secander was the son of Darab a preceding Persian king by the daughter of Philip king of Greece, that in philosophy he was the pupil of Aristotle, and that he founded the city of Alexandria. Hence there can be no doubt, that, by Dara and Secander, we are to understand Darius-Codomannus and Alexander the great. The sum, therefore, of the matter is this. According to the Persian writers, there were twenty kings of Persia before Alexander the great: and, yet, such of them, as are addicted to romantic exaggeration, would persuade us, that the first of those twenty kings was only the fifth in descent from Noah. The obvious consequence of so distorted an arrangement is, that an extravagant and impossible duration is ascribed to each reign: for, otherwise, as these fabulists are well aware, the small number of twenty kings would be insufficient to fill up the time between the pretended great-grandson of Arphaxad and the Macedonian Alexander the great. Thus, some of the writers in question extend the

reigns of the twenty kings through a period of 3947 years ; which gives to each reign an average length of $197\frac{7}{20}$ years : while others, not much more modestly, assign to the twenty reigns a period of only 3184 years ; which gives an average length of $159\frac{1}{3}$ years to the reign of each of these long-lived sovereigns ¹.

I need scarcely remark, that the palpably fabulous chronology of these Persian writers must inevitably be rejected : but, while we reject their chronology, I see no reason why we should reject also the numerical tale of their sovereigns. The very circumstance of their retaining the tale, though in itself it furnishes a confutation of the chronological arrangement which a foolish national vanity has led them to adopt, is no mean evidence, that the tale is numerically accurate : for the fact seems to have been, that they did not venture to falsify well known numbers, though they scrupled not to stretch the reigns of a dark and well-nigh forgotten period to a length which exceeds every measure of probability.

That such an opinion wanders not very far from the truth, may, I think, be gathered from the much more reasonable statement of Mirkhond. Aware, that the figment of *Arphaxad's near relationship to Caiumuras* and the tale of *only twenty Persian sovereigns before Alexander the great* could not

¹ See *Tarikh Jehan Ara*, transl. by Ouseley, sect. ii, chap. 1. and *Anc. Univ. Hist.* vol. v. p. 329.

subsist together, he very rationally gives up the figment : and, while he retains the tale, he reduces the collective period of the twenty reigns to the comparatively moderate duration, of 971 years. Yet, though the *principle* of his reduction is good, its *amount*, upon the sum total of twenty reigns, is clearly insufficient. For, if 971 years be the collective length of twenty reigns, the average length of each reign will be $48\frac{11}{20}$ years : a duration far too great for the several reigns of such a succession¹.

Rejecting, then, the too large chronology even of the more reasonable Mirkhond, but retaining what seems to have been his principle of reduction, we shall find, that a really fair calculation of the twenty reigns, which preceded that of Alexander the great, will bring us to *about* the epoch, before which the

¹ Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. v. p. 328. Mirkhond, or Mohammed Ben Emir Khoanschah, wrote, under the title of *Raoudhat al Safa*, a general history, from the beginning of the world to the year of the Hegira 900. In common with the other Persian historians, he constantly and uniformly asserts, that he wrote from the authorities of ancient Persian documents, which had been preserved and handed down from the early ages of the monarchy. Some, indeed, of the princes, enumerated in the catalogue, fully identify themselves ; and thence serve to correct the chronology. Thus, as Dara and Secander are clearly Darius-Codomannus and Alexander : so Cai-Khosru and Gushtasf are evidently Cyrus and Darius-Hystaspis. Whence Cai-Kaus, who precedes Cai-Khosru, is apparently either Cyaxares or Cambyzes the father of Cyrus : while Lohrasf, who comes between Cai-Khosru and Gushtasf, thus determines himself to be Cambyzes the son and successor of the great Cyrus.

independent Persian monarchy could not, consistently with general history, have been founded.

The mighty Assyrian Empire, which was originally established by Nimrod at Babel, and which comprehended within its limits the whole of central Asia, fell asunder by the revolt of its provinces toward the close of the ninth century before Christ ; after it had subsisted, under two successive dynasties, for the space of nearly 1500 years. A short season of anarchy and discord followed its dissolution : and then the independent kingdom of Media, the independent kingdom of Persia, and the independent kingdom of Assyria or the second Assyrian Empire under a new dynasty, sprang up out of its ruins. Under such circumstances, the Persian monarchy cannot have been founded earlier than the close of the ninth century before Christ : because, hitherto, the region, which at length became its territorial platform, was a mere province of the great original Assyrian Empire.

Now, with this statement, a rational calculation of the twenty Persian reigns, which preceded that of Alexander the great, will be found perfectly to agree : a matter, which strongly shews the *numerical* accuracy of the Persian historians ; though, with the honourable exception of Mirkhond, nothing can be said in favour of their *chronological* accuracy.

The reign of Dara or Darius-Codomannus may be said to have terminated in the year A.C. 331, when Alexander stripped him of all his dominions : or, if we extend it to the time of his death which

happened in the following year, such an extension will be of no consequence so far as our present purpose is concerned. But the reign of Dara is the last of the twenty reigns, which precede that of Alexander the great. Consequently, our retrograde calculation of them must commence from the year A.C. 331. If then, on the rational principle of Sir Isaac Newton, we allow an average length of 22 years for each of the twenty reigns, we shall be brought to the year A.C. 771, for the rise of the Persian monarchy under Caiumuras: if an average length of $22\frac{1}{2}$ years for each reign, to the year A.C. 781¹: if 23 years, to the year A.C. 791: if $23\frac{1}{2}$ years, to the year A.C. 801: and, if 24 years, to the year A.C. 811.

Thus, agreeably to the statement that the Persian monarchy *could not* have been founded earlier than the latter end of the ninth century before Christ, because the first Assyrian Empire did not fall asunder until that epoch; we now learn, from a rational calculation of the twenty reigns which preceded that of Alexander, that the Persian monarchy must have been founded some time between the year A.C. 811 and the year A.C. 771².

¹ This is the average length of our English reigns, from William I to George II, both inclusive.

² See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book vi. chap. 2. § I, II, III. In that work, I place the rise of the Persian monarchy in the year A.C. 811: but there is no more *precise* authority for *this* year than for any *other* year between it and the year A.C. 771. We can only ascertain in *general*, on the principle of a calcula-

(2.) Such, then, is the *chronological commencement* of the vision ; for the vision, as we have seen, commences with the standing up of the ram or with the rise of the Persian monarchy : let us next inquire for the epoch of its *chronological termination*.

This epoch is very carefully and definitely marked out : nor was it without reason, that so much precision should have been used ; for some highly important synchronisms may thence be established.

The angel, who acts the part of an interpreter, twice assures Daniel, that the vision shall reach unto the time of the end. Now the time of the end is that very brief period, which occurs at the close of the latter three times and a half¹. Hence the vision of the ram and the he-goat, reaching as it does to the time of the end, reaches also to the close of the latter three times and a half.

Such a termination establishes some very important synchronisms.

The vision reaches to the time of the end : and the last predicted event in it is the breaking of the Mohammedan little horn without hand. This break-

tion from averages as laid down by Sir Isaac Newton, that the Persian monarchy *must* have been founded at some era *between* those two years : and the propriety of this calculation is established by the independent circumstance, that, let the Persian monarchy have been founded at what *precise* point of time it may, it *cannot* have been founded *earlier* than the latter end of the ninth century before Christ.

¹ See above book i. chap. 7. § III.

ing, therefore, must take place at the time of the end. Hence it must synchronise with the final war and overthrow of the wilful king, mentioned in a subsequent vision of Daniel; for these events are also fixed to the same time of the end¹. Hence, likewise, it must synchronise, with the final dissolution of the metallic image, and with the destruction of the Roman beast and the Papal little horn, at the close of the latter three times and a half². Consequently, all the four visions of Daniel, with which we are at present concerned, terminate synchronically with the time of the end or with the expiration of the latter three times and a half³: at least, they all *reach* to the time of the end; though, in the two visions of the image and the four great beasts, we have the subsequent inauguration of Christ's triumphant reign upon earth distinctly foretold; and though, in the vision of the things noted in the Scripture of truth, we read of the blessedness of him, who shall wait and come to that grand concluding period of 1335 years, which follows the three times and a half allotted to the tyranny of the various Antichristian Powers⁴.

2. But, subordinately to the entire length of the vision of the ram and the he-goat, a period of 2300

¹ Dan. xi. 40—45.

² Dan. ii. 34, 44. vii. 11, 25, 26.

³ Such also is the termination of the vision respecting the lxx weeks. See my Treatise on that prophecy, chap. vi. § VI. 3, 4.

⁴ Dan. ii. 35, 44, 45. vii. 13, 14, 27. xii. 12.

prophetic days is specified : which period commences indeed with the chronological commencement of the vision, but which is said to terminate with the incipient cleansing of the sanctuary.

Then I heard one saint speaking : and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake ; How long is the vision, respecting the daily sacrifice and the Apostasy that maketh desolate, in its giving both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot ? And he said unto me ; Until two thousand and three hundred days : then shall the sanctuary be cleansed¹.

(1.) The question here asked relates to the vision, respecting the daily sacrifice and the Apostasy that maketh desolate : but it relates not to the entire length of the vision ; for, by the introduction of a special chronological limitation, it only asks, *How long, from the time of its commencement, is the vision, in its giving both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot ?*

¹ Dan. viii. 13, 14.

² The question itself is verbally ambiguous : for it might be doubted, whether the clause, *in its giving both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot*, refers to *the Apostasy that maketh desolate* or to *the vision*. But the answer removes all ground of uncertainty : for it shews, that the clause must relate to *the vision* ; because, on any other interpretation, it is no reply to the question. Indeed the original Hebrew, according to its strictly literal translation, will scarcely bear any other sense. *Until how long is the vision of the daily sacrifice and the Apostasy that maketh desolate, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot ?* To this question the answer is :

Accordingly, as we learn from the answer to it no less distinctly than from the question itself, the drift of the question is: *How long a time will elapse, from the chronological commencement of the vision, to the cleansing of the polluted sanctuary?*

Now the vision, respecting the daily sacrifice and the desolating Apostasy, is doubtless the vision of the ram and the he-goat. Hence the question is: *How long a space of time will the vision of the*

Until two thousand and three hundred nycthemerons; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed. The answer shews, that the clause, *to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot*, is a note of chronology. Hence it must clearly relate to *the vision*.

It may not be improper to remark, that the original here expresses *days* by *nycthemerons* or *evenings and mornings*. This has evidently been done to preserve the decorum of the symbolical imagery. It is borrowed from the literal temple of Jerusalem; in which the daily sacrifice was offered up every evening and morning. Such is the allusion involved in the phraseology: but it affects not the duration of the term itself. Each sacrificial day comprehending *an evening and a morning* or (hellenistically) being *a nycthemeron*, two thousand three hundred evenings and mornings or two thousand three hundred nycthemerons are the same period as two thousand three hundred days.

Some persons have imagined, from the peculiarity of the expression, that we ought to understand, not two thousand three hundred days, but only two thousand three hundred half days: which would reduce the period to no more than one thousand one hundred and fifty days. I myself cannot discern the possibility of extracting such a sense from the original phraseology. The term, I think, is clearly two thousand three hundred days, whether those days be literal or prophetic.

ram and the he-goat occupy, from its chronological commencement, to the incipient cleansing of the sanctuary?

From the premises, thus laid down respecting the question, I argue in manner following.

The *whole* length of the vision, as we have already seen, is the period, which extends, from its chronological commencement with the rise of the Persian Monarchy, down to what Daniel styles *the time of the end* or down to the close of the latter three times and a half: that is to say, it is the period, which extends, from some point between the year A. C. 811 and the year A. C. 771, down to the supposed termination of the latter three times and a half in the year after Christ 1864.

But, subordinately to this grand period, we have a minor period of 2300 years distinctly specified: and this number is declared to be the chronological measure of the period, which extends from the commencement of the vision to the incipient cleansing of the sanctuary.

Such being the case, since the 2300 years are to be computed from the chronological commencement of the vision, and since the vision chronologically commenced at some point between the year A. C. 811 and the year A. C. 771; they will of course terminate at the corresponding point between the year after Christ 1490 and the year after Christ 1530.

Now the sanctuary, we are told, is polluted by that great desolating or persecuting Apostasy; on account of which the allegorical stars are given into

the hand of the Mohammedan little horn, and on the completion of which (or when the apostates are come to the full) the spiritual Power symbolised by that little horn first stands up. But the sanctuary, thus polluted by the demonolatrous Apostasy, is the Christian Church viewed as mainly settled within the limits of the Roman Empire. Consequently, it is the Christian Church of the Roman Empire, which must begin to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 years: and, since that Church is polluted by *adopting* the demonolatrous superstition of the Apostasy, its cleansing must obviously consist in *a rejection* of that demonolatrous superstition. The prophecy, therefore, involved in the number 2300, teaches us, that, at the end of the 2300 years, the Christian Church of the Roman Empire, which had been long polluted by a base demonolatrous superstition, would begin to reject that superstition and would begin to reform itself from the gross errors of the prevailing Apostasy. But the 2300 years expire at some point between the year after Christ 1490 and the year after Christ 1530. Therefore, at some point between those two years, the long-polluted Church of the Roman Empire must begin to renounce the demonolatrous superstition of the great Apostasy.

(2.) Accordingly, this numerical prophecy has been most accurately accomplished.

If we ask, at what time the Christian Church of the Roman Empire began to renounce the apostatic worship of demons or of canonised saints: the voice

of history will reply, that this great moral revolution commenced at the era of the Reformation in the year after Christ 1517. The cleansing of the sanctuary *then* began in the once apostatic national Churches of England, Scotland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, and northern Germany : and this cleansing, thus happily begun, will be completed, as we learn from the Apocalypse, at the end of the latter 1260 years or in the period which Daniel calls *the time of the end*¹. Hence the gradual cleansing of the sanctuary, which begins at the close of the 2300 years, will be completed at the chronological termination of the vision of the ram and the he-goat.

Thus, even had the prophecy never been delivered, the voice of history alone would have determined *the naked fact*, that *the Christian Church began to cleanse or reform itself from the apostatic worship of dead men in the year after Christ 1517* : and, however we may interpret the prophecy since it *has* been delivered, *the naked fact* in question will still remain incontrovertible. Now the prophecy declares, that, at the end of 2300 years to be reckoned from the chronological commencement of the present vision or from the rise of the independent Persian monarchy, the mystic sanctuary, which had long been polluted by a desolating Apostasy, should begin to be cleansed : and the voice of history has determined, that this predicted

¹ Rev. xi. 1, 2. Dan. viii. 17, 19.

cleansing or reformation of a corrupt demonolatrous Church commenced in the year after Christ 1517. Hence, in the year after Christ 1517, the 2300 years must plainly enough expire. But, as we have seen, the 2300 years commence, at some point between the year A. C. 811 and the year A. C. 771, with the standing up of the ram or with the rise of the Persian monarchy. Hence, they must not only expire in the year after Christ 1517, when history teaches us that the sanctuary began to be cleansed: but they must likewise expire, at some point between the year after Christ 1490 and the year after Christ 1530. Accordingly, these two conclusions perfectly harmonise. Are we brought, by a computation of the period from the chronological commencement of the vision, to some point between the year after Christ 1490 and the year after Christ 1530? Then the year 1517 exactly answers to such a description. Are we, on the other hand, compelled by the voice of history to say, that the long-demonolatrous Church began to reform itself in the year after Christ 1517? Then the year, thus positively determined by history, must be the year, in which the sanctuary began to be cleansed, and in which the 2300 years expired.

An inversion of the same process will mark the exact time, when the 2300 years commenced.

The vision of the ram and the he-goat begins with the rise of the Persian monarchy. But the Persian monarchy could not have arisen *earlier*

than the latter end of the ninth century before Christ; because the great Assyrian Empire, which occupied all central Asia, did not fall asunder until about that epoch: and; accordingly, a computation of the twenty reigns, which preceded that of Alexander the great, fixes the era of its rise to some point between the year A. C. 811 and the year A. C. 771. Now the 2300 years commence, with the commencement of the vision, and therefore with the rise of the Persian monarchy. Consequently, the 2300 years commence at some point between the year A. C. 811 and the year A. C. 771. But they expire with the cleansing of the sanctuary: and the voice of history determines, that the sanctuary began to be cleansed in the year after Christ 1517. Hence, if we calculate retrogressively 2300 years from the year after Christ 1517, we shall be brought to the year A. C. 784 for the commencement of the period and for the rise of the Persian monarchy. But this year perfectly agrees with the antecedent chronological arrangement, which fixed the rise of the Persian monarchy to some point between the year A. C. 811 and the year A. C. 771: for the year A. C. 784, which is brought out by reckoning 2300 years from the cleansing of the sanctuary in the year after Christ 1517, falls between those two years.

On such principles, then, I conclude, agreeably to the tenor of the prophecy, that the 2300 years commenced in the year A. C. 784 with the stand-

ing up of the Persian ram, and that they expired in the year after Christ 1517 with the incipient cleansing of the mystic sanctuary.

IV. A brief recapitulation of the several dates connected with the present vision may form an useful supplement to the preceding discussion.

1. In the year A. C. 784, the vision of the ram and the he-goat and the period of 2300 years commenced with the rise of the Persian monarchy out of the ruins of the Assyrian Empire.

2. In the year A. C. 556, the ram began to push northward and southward and westward.

3. In the year A. C. 334, the he-goat of the west furiously attacked the ram; and, in the year A. C. 331, cast him down to the ground and stamped upon him.

4. In the year after Christ 604, the demonolatrous Apostasy was completed by the acquisition of its lawless head: and, in this same year which is the bipartiting point of the seven times, commenced those latter three times and a half, during which the times and the saints and the laws are given by the ten unanimous Gothic horns of the Roman beast into the hand of the little papal horn.

5. In the year after Christ 608 or 609, the apostates having now come to the full or the demonolatrous Apostasy having now been completed, the Mohammedan little horn, or the kingdom fierce of countenance, stood up in the East behind the Macedonian Empire of the he-goat: and, soon penetrating from Arabia into Syria, it waxed great

against the allegorical stars of heaven, and had the host judicially given up to its tyranny by reason of a prevailing Apostasy.

6. In the year after Christ 1517, the sanctuary began to be cleansed from the demonolatrous pollution of the Apostasy, and the 2300 years expired.

7. And, in the year after Christ 1864, which is the terminating point of the seven times and therefore likewise of the latter moiety of three times and a half, the short intermediate period, styled *the time of the end*, will commence. During the lapse of this brief period, which apparently comprehends no more than a single natural year, the vision of the ram and the he-goat will be brought to a conclusion, the Mohammedan little horn will be broken without hand, the Roman little horn with its lawless usurpation will be destroyed, and the sanctuary will be thoroughly cleansed : and, at the close of the same brief period or in the year after Christ 1865, if the arrangement which I have adopted rest upon any solid foundation, the predicted period of terrestrial blessedness will commence.

CHAPTER IV

THE VISION OF THE THINGS NOTED IN THE SCRIPTURE
OF TRUTH.

IN the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, or almost immediately after the overthrow of the first of the four great Empires, Daniel had yet another vision of anticipated history : which, in the phraseology of the august Revealer, may be denominated *the vision of the things noted in the Scripture of truth* ; and which remarkably differs from all the preceding visions, in the circumstance of its being a plain historical narrative altogether undisguised by symbols or hieroglyphics ¹.

Of this vision, the character, given by the prophet, is : that *the thing revealed is true*, but that *the time appointed is long* ².

Hence we may perceive the inconsistency of Porphyry and Grotius, who contend that all the latter part of it relates to the exploits of Antiochus-Epiphanes. If the time, appointed for the accomplishment of the entire prophecy be *long* ; which is declared to be the case : then, when we consider the vast chronological extent of all the other vi-

¹ Dan. x. 1, 21.

² Dan. x. 1.

sions, we cannot rationally suppose the present to conclude with the death of Antiochus; for Antiochus died only 370 years after Daniel saw this last vision, while each one of the three preceding visions reaches to the very time of the end or to the close of the latter 1260 years. Therefore, as the three preceding visions severally reach down at least to the year after Christ 1864: had the concluding vision reached down no lower than to the death of Antiochus in the year before Christ 164; we may be morally sure, that Daniel could never have said of it that the time appointed was *long*. Thus radically erroneous must be every exposition, which makes Daniel's last vision terminate with the death of Antiochus.

Jerome, indeed, and the Christian expositors of his day, avoid, no doubt, this palpable incongruity, by making Antiochus the type of Antichrist, and by ultimately referring to the antitype what they suppose to be primarily said of the type¹. But,

¹ Hucusque ordo historiæ se sequitur, et inter Porphyrium ac nostros nulla contentio est. Cætera, quæ sequuntur ad finem voluminis, ille interpretatur super persona Antiochi qui cognominatus est Epiphanes—Nostri autem hæc omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur, qui ultimo tempore futurus est—Cumque multa, quæ postea lecturi et exposituri sumus, super Antiochi persona convenient: typum eum volunt Antichristi habere, et quæ in illo ex parte præcesserint, in Antichristo ex toto esse complenda. Hieron. Comment. in Dan. xi. 21.

It is, however, only justice to say, that, from Dan. xi. 36 to the end of the vision, Jerome himself seems strongly inclined to

while they shun Charybdis, they fall into the jaws of Scylla : for, though insulated and unchronological prophecies, such as those respecting the advent of Christ, admit of a first and second accomplishment ; no continuous and strictly chronological prophecy, such as all those of Daniel, can be capable of more than a single accomplishment, because every prophecy of *this* description is neither more nor less than a regular series of anticipated history. Hence, if the latter part of Daniel's concluding vision relate at all to Antiochus-Epiphanes, it must relate *exclusively* to him ; in which case, the character ascribed to it, that the time appointed was *long*, is certainly most inapplicable : or, if it relate at all to Antichrist, in which sentiment I believe Jerome and the Fathers to be very right ; then it cannot *also* relate to Antiochus-Epiphanes, because the very nature of a chronological or continuous prophecy forbids of necessity a double application.

The fact is, the vision of the things noted in the Scripture of truth, like all the three preceding visions, is spread over the surface of the great

set Antiochus altogether aside and to apply the prophecy exclusively to Antichrist.

Ab hoc loco (Dan. xi. 36.) Judæi dici de Antichristo putant : —quod quidem et nos de Antichristo intelligimus. Porphyrius autem, et cæteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici arbitrantur. Hieron. Comment. in Dan. xi. 36.

That Grotius in more modern times could seek to revive the dreams of Porphyry, as Jerome not unaptly designates the speculations of that writer (Comment. in Dan. xi. 44.), is indeed sufficiently marvellous.

calendar of prophecy, and is therefore to be spanned and measured by the gage of that calendar. It omits, indeed, the first large Empire; because the vision was seen in the third year of Cyrus, and the Babylonian monarchy had already fallen: but, while it begins only with the Medo-Persian Empire as that Empire was existing at the date of the vision, it passes, in strict chronological order, first through the descending history of that Empire; then through the history of the Grecian Empire, specially as prolonged by its two chief members; and lastly through the history of the Roman Empire, specially as prolonged, in its proper western seat, under its most powerful horn and under its short-lived though eventually reviving seventh head, down to the very time of the end or to the close of the latter 1260 years¹.

In short, as the object of the vision of the image was mainly, to define and to mark out, like a general chart and scale of anticipated history, the grand calendar of prophecy; as the object of the vision of the four great beasts was, to conduct us, by the fixed standard of that calendar, to the era and actions of the little western horn of Popery; and as the kindred object of the vision of the ram and the he-goat was, to conduct us, by the same fixed standard, to the era and actions of the little eastern horn of Mohammedism, and to the epoch of the incipient cleansing of the sanctuary: so the

¹ Rev. xvii. 10. xiii. 3, 12, 14. xvii. 10, 11.

object of the vision of the things noted in the Scripture of truth is, finally to conduct us, still by the very same fixed standard, to the era and actions of that infidel Antichrist, who by the diffusion of his spirit should finally identify himself with the apostate Roman Empire, but who should chiefly be developed by the principal horn and under the seventh head of that same Empire in its latter or divided condition ¹.

This *wilful king*, as he is well styled by Daniel, helplessly falls, in the time of the end, while chief or captain of a vast irreligious confederacy ²: an event, which synchronises, with the final dissolution of the metallic image, with the destruction of the Roman little horn and the wild-beast to which it belongs, with the breaking of the Mohammedan little horn, and with the apocalyptic fight of Armageddon, in which the Roman beast under his revived last head (the wilful king, for they are identical, of the present vision), though aided by the false prophet and the confederated kings of the Latin world, perishes irremediably, none helping him, in the vicinity of the glorious holy mountain, between the two seas of Palestine ³.

In the midst of such extraordinary convulsions, the long-scattered people of Daniel will begin to be restored: for we are told, at once, that the great

¹ 1 John ii. 22, 23.

² Dan. xii. 45. Rev. xvi. 13—16. xix. 11—21.

³ Rev. xix. 11—21.

prince Michael will stand up for them synchronically with the last expedition and final overthrow of the wilful Roman king of the West, and that the period of their scattering will be accomplished at the close of the latter three times and a half¹.

When the whole antichristian faction shall have been thus destroyed, and when the brief time of the end shall have expired; then will commence that grand concluding term of 1335 prophetic days, respecting which the interpreting angel says: *Blessed is he, that waiteth and cometh to it*².

I. The Babylonian Empire having recently fallen at the time when the vision of the things noted in the Scripture of truth was revealed to Daniel, the angelic speaker consistently begins with the then actually standing Empire of the Medes and Persians.

Cyrus, as the prophet himself had informed us, was the reigning king: for it was in the third year of that sovereign, that he saw the vision. After Cyrus, then, are to stand up yet three other kings in Persia, whose actions are not peculiarly specified: but the fourth is described as being wealthy above all his predecessors, and as stirring up the whole world against the realm of Javan or Greece.

It is worthy of remark, that this prophetic enumeration is more minutely accurate, than either the Canon of Ptolemy or the native Persic account of the Caianian dynasty. The former, indeed, fully

¹ Dan. xii. 1, 6, 7.

² Dan. xii. 12.

preserves the exactness of its chronology; though, in pursuance of the plan adopted by its author, it suppresses, between Cambyses and Darius-Hystaspis, the name of Smerdis the Magian impostor, because his reign did not extend to a complete year: but the latter wholly omits him, between Lohrasp and Gushtasp, without any assignable reason save that he was an impostor and an usurper.

1. The first of the three predicted successors of Cyrus was Cambyses or Lohrasp. He was the son of the great founder of the Medo-Persian Empire: but, as he performed no deed peculiarly worthy of notice, his place in the succession is simply mentioned.

2. The second was Smerdis, the Magian impostor. He also is dismissed with nothing more than a bare enumeration.

3. The third was Gushtasp or Darius-Hystaspis. He married the daughter of Cyrus, and was a great and powerful prince: but as his expedition against Greece was less remarkable than that of his son Xerxes, he is merely inserted in the general catalogue of kings, which brings us down to the most eminent struggle between Persia and the Hellenic States.

4. The fourth was Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius. This sovereign, as it is well known, agreeably to the prophetic description of him, was richer than all his predecessors: and, in his fruitless attempt upon Greece, he stirred up against it the whole civilised world. For, not content with the forces which Asia could produce, he engaged also

the Carthaginians in his alliance ; that, while he was overwhelming Greece, they might fall upon the Greek colonies of Italy and Sicily : and, for this purpose, the Carthaginians not only raised all the troops they could in Africa, but they likewise hired a vast number of mercenaries in Spain and Gaul and Italy ; so that the three grand divisions of the then known world, Europe and Asia and Africa, may be said to have been banded together against the single realm of Hellas.

In the less accurate Persian list of the Caianian kings, it is remarkable, that Xerxes is wholly omitted : for Cai-Ardeshir or Artaxerxes-Longimanus is made the immediate successor of Gushtasp or Darius-Hystaspis. The cause of the omission I take to have been this. Darius and Xerxes resembled each other in the most prominent feature of their respective reigns, an unsuccessful attack upon Greece. Hence, by the later Persians, the two seem to have been confounded together and to have been set down as a single person by the name of *Gushtasp*.

II. Persia having now come in contact with Greece, and the remaining successors of Cyrus down to the reign of Dara or Darius-Codomannus having performed nothing worthy of prophetic notice, the angelic revealer passes at once to the rise of the Macedonian Empire under Alexander the great or Secander Zul-Karnein.

The account given of this event is, that *a mighty king shall stand up, and shall rule with great*

dominion, and shall do according to his will. Yet, when he shall be established, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; not however to his posterity, nor according to the sway with which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, and shall be for others rather than for those.

After this follows a long and very particular narrative of the wars and intermarriages of *the king of the South*, who is said to be one of his princes, with another king who is denominated *the king of the North*: and that narrative is continued, until a certain mighty Power, described as the seed or offspring of the Italian Chittim, is brought very conspicuously upon the stage.

1. I need scarcely remark, that the division of Alexander's Empire toward the four winds of heaven, though not to his own posterity, was accomplished, soon after his death, by his four principal captains; a circumstance, which had been already foretold symbolically by the rise of the four conspicuous horns of the Grecian he-goat.

(1.) In the west, Cassander reigned over Greece and Macedon.

(2.) In the north, Lysimachus reigned over Thrace and Bithynia.

(3.) In the south, Ptolemy reigned over Egypt.

(4.) And, in the east, Seleucus reigned over Syria and its dependent provinces.

2. But, though the Empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms, toward the four

winds of heaven, yet not to his own posterity; two only of them, Egypt and Syria, are specially noticed in the remainder of the prophecy.

These two were by far the greatest and the most considerable: these two were, at one period, the only remaining kingdoms of the four; the kingdom of Macedon having been conquered and annexed to Thrace by Lysimachus, and the united kingdom of Macedon and Thrace having been afterward conquered and annexed to Syria by Seleucus: these two likewise continued distinct kingdoms, after the others had been swallowed up by the growing power of the Romans. For such reasons, and from the additional circumstance of these two kingdoms alone having been connected with the affairs of Judæa, they only are peculiarly noticed by the Spirit of prophecy. Accordingly, in geographical reference to the land of Palestine, Egypt is throughout denominated *the kingdom of the South*, while Syria bears the appellation of *the kingdom of the North*.

Instead of superfluously pointing out the wonderfully exact completion of the prophecy in the various wars and alliances of these two principal Greek kingdoms, a task which, after Jerome, has already been most amply performed by Bishop Newton; I shall rather pass on to that part of the prediction, which gives the anticipated history of Antiochus-Epiphanes: because the Romans then first come in contact with the Syrian monarchy, and are immediately afterward introduced to our notice as the paramount Power of the prophetic world.

Respecting Antiochus it is foretold, that a contemptible person shall be the successor of Seleucus-Philopator, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom ; that he shall, nevertheless, come in privily, and secure the kingdom by flatteries : that he shall stir up his power against the king of the South with a great army : that the king of the South shall meet him in battle, but shall be vanquished : that he shall return into his own land with great riches, and that his heart shall be against the holy covenant : that, at the time appointed, he shall again make an attack upon the kingdom of the South ; but that he shall not prove successful as before, because the ships of the Chittim shall come against him and grievously humble him : and that, in consequence of this interruption, he shall again vent his wrath against the holy covenant ; and shall dispatch his work as he returns, when he shall have intelligence with those who forsake the holy covenant.

Such are the main outlines of the anticipated history of Antiochus, a few matters of less importance having been omitted for the sake of brevity : and, with them, his now retrospective history will be found perfectly to accord.

The general conduct of this prince was such, that he merited and received the punning title of *Epimanes* or *the Mad-man*, instead of *Epiphanes* or *the Illustrious* as he affected to be called : he did not immediately receive the honour of his kingdom ; for Heliodorus attempted to gain it for himself,

while another party declared in favour of Ptolemy-Philometor king of Egypt: yet he came in peaceably and by flatteries; for he flattered the Romans by sending ambassadors to court their interest and to pay them tribute, he flattered and gained the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus by fair promises, he flattered the Syrians themselves with a great shew of clemency, and thus at length he took peaceable possession of his dominions: he attacked Ptolemy king of Egypt with a great army; and, after completely beating him in two campaigns, he made himself master of the whole country except Alexandria: he returned into his own kingdom, laden with spoils; but, on the way, irritated at the rising of the deposed high-priest Jason and concluding that the whole Jewish nation had revolted, he set his heart against the holy covenant, took Jerusalem by force of arms, polluted the temple and altar with swine's flesh, and profanely broke into the holy of holies: at the end of two years, he again marched into Egypt, but he met not with his former success; for the Roman ambassadors, coming in ships from the Italian land of the Chittim, imperiously demanded his instant return, and grievously humbled him by enforcing a submission which fear alone extorted: thus provoked by the disappointment of his ambitious projects, he again had indignation against the holy covenant; for, as he returned from Egypt, he a second time took and pillaged Jerusalem, polluted the sanctuary, abolished the national worship, and consecrated the temple itself to Jupiter-Olympius:

lastly, in the transacting of these matters, he had intelligence with them who forsook the holy covenant; for Menelaus and the apostate Jews of his party were the persons, who chiefly instigated him against their religion and their country.

III. The Romans having been now brought upon the stage by their imperious interference in the affairs of Antiochus, the divine messenger passes over the later Syrian kings his successors, as he had similarly passed over the later Persian kings after Xerxes; and proceeds immediately to the history of the fourth great Empire, as it had been already laid down in the grand scale or calendar of prophecy.

From the Chittim, he tells us, who had so sternly commanded Antiochus to evacuate Egypt, shall stand up their seed or their progeny or their descendants: and these descendants of the Chittim, in the progress of their Asiatic conquests, will take away the daily sacrifice, and will pollute the sanctuary of strength, and will set up the abomination that maketh desolate.

As the course of the anticipated history leads us, of necessity, to apply this part of the prediction to the sacking of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus; so we have the express authority of Christ himself for maintaining such to be the true interpretation of the passage. Speaking, no doubt, of the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, he exhorts his disciples to flee from the devoted city to the mountains, when the capital of Judea shall be cora-

passed with armies, and when the abomination of desolation *spoken of by Daniel the prophet* shall stand in the holy place ¹. The Romans, therefore, on the direct authority of our Lord, are the Power destined to set up the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet. But, in the writings of that prophet, the Power, which sets up the abomination of desolation, is described, as consisting of the descendants of those western Chittim, who had compelled Antiochus-Epiphanes to abandon his expedition against Egypt. Consequently, this Power cannot but mean the Roman Empire ².

¹ Matt. xxiv. 15, 16. Mark xiii. 14, 15. Luke xxi. 20—24.

² Our Lord's reference to Daniel seems to be a double reference. He refers, I apprehend, not only to Dan. xi. 31, but also to Dan. ix. 27: for these two passages are clearly parallel, each containing the identical phrase cited by our Lord (for Dan. ix. 27 ought to be rendered, *Upon the border shall be the abomination that maketh desolate*), and each therefore on his authority relating to the Roman pollution of the temple under Titus.

It may be useful here to shew, that, to yet a third passage, that which occurs in Dan. viii. 13, our Lord could not have referred: and I am the more inclined to shew this matter, because it exhibits the divine art and perfect consistency of the sacred oracles.

The just laws of harmony require, that prophecies should be interpreted homogeneously. Now Dan. ix. 27 and Dan. xi. 31 occur, each in the midst of a literal, not a symbolical, prophecy. In either passage, therefore, *the abomination of desolation* must relate to a literal pollution of the literal temple: and, accordingly, the phrase is so applied by our Lord himself. But Dan. viii. 13 occurs in the midst of a symbolical, not a literal, prophecy: whence homogeneity requires the passage itself to

With a conclusion thus plainly inevitable, agrees the computation of a chronological number, which Daniel connects with the setting up of the abomination that maketh desolate. In the course of the present vision or the vision of the things noted in the Scripture of truth, the prophet, as we have just seen, declares, that the descendants of the Roman Chittim should take away the daily sacrifice and should set up the abomination of desolation: and, afterward, at the close of the self-same vision, he is taught by the hierophantic angel, that, from the time when the daily sacrifice shall be taken away and the abomination that maketh desolate shall be set up, to an epoch when many shall be purified and made white and tried and when the wicked shall not understand but the wise shall understand, there shall be a period of 1290 prophetic days or

be interpreted symbolically and figuratively, not simply and literally. Homogeneity, therefore, shuts out any literal application of the passage to the literal pollution of the literal temple by the Romans; and compels us to refer it figuratively to a figurative pollution of the figurative temple. Such being the case, homogeneity forbids the supposition, that our Lord could have had in his eye Dan. viii. 13, when he referred to *the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet*.

I may add, that the very phraseology in Dan. viii. 13 differs essentially from the phraseology in our Lord's quotation.

Our Lord mentions *the ABOMINATION of desolation*, spoken of by Daniel the prophet. But, in Dan. viii. 13, Daniel never once employs the term ABOMINATION. On the contrary, he speaks of *the APOSTASY that maketh desolate*.

1290 natural years¹. Accordingly, if these 1290 years be reckoned from the year after Christ 70, when the Roman descendants of the Chittim took away the daily sacrifice and set up the desolating abomination; they will bring us to the year after Christ 1360. But, in that identical year, Wickliffe, the morning-star of the Reformation, began to testify against the corruptions of the great demonolatrous Apostasy: and the consequence was, that many, who had hitherto been in communion with the Roman Church, were led to understand that grand mystery of iniquity which their persecutors could not or would not understand, and that, by reason of openly and conscientiously avowing the discovery which they had made, they were purified and made white and tried in the furnace of affliction².

¹ Dan. xi. 31. xii. 10, 11. Since these two passages occur in the course of one and the same vision, the laws of just composition imperiously require us to interpret the latter passage as referring to the former. See above book ii. chap. 3. § II. 4. (1.)

² Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. cent. xiv. part 2. chap. 2. § XIX. vol. iii. p. 332. Append. ad Hist. Cl. Cave literar. ad A.D. 1360. Bale de Scriptor. Britann. centur. 4. vit. 1.

It is remarkable, that, while Christian expositors, to a comparatively late period, have incongruously applied this *setting up of the abomination of desolation* to Antiochus-Epiphanes; the Jews themselves, as Jerome informs us, rightly understood it as relating to the pollution of the temple by the Romans under Titus.

Judæi hoc, nec de Antiocho-Epiphane nec de Antichristo,

As the prophecy has now entered upon the history of the Roman Empire, viewed, agreeably to the usual method of Scripture, in connection with the Church of God: so it regularly divides that history, subsequent to the desolation of Jerusalem, into five successive periods; the last of these five periods being, if I mistake not, still future.

1. The first period is described, by the heavenly messenger, in the following terms.

Such, as do wickedly against the covenant, they (that is, the seed or descendants of the Chittim) shall cause to dissemble with flatteries: but the people, that know their God, will firmly retain and practise it. And those among the people, that understand, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall, by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days¹.

This period, as it stands arranged in the prophecy, chronologically follows the sacking of Jerusalem by Titus: hence it is clearly the period of

sed de Romanis intelligi volunt, de quibus supradictum est: *Et venient trieres, sive Itali atque Romani; et humiliabitur.* Post multa, inquit, tempora, de ipsis Romanis, qui Ptolemæo venere auxilio et Antiocho comminati sunt, consurget rex Vespasianus: surgent brachia ejus et semina, Titus filius cum exercitu; et polluent sanctuarium, auferentque jube sacrificium, et templum tradent æternæ solitudini. Hieron. Comment. in loc.

We may observe, that, in this exposition, *both* the senses of the original Hebrew word זרעים, namely, *brachia* and *semina*, are preserved.

¹ Dan. xi. 32, 33.

those dreadful persecutions, which the Church of God, now subsisting under the divine covenant as perfected and completed by Christianity, suffered from the tyranny and bigotry of the pagan Roman Empire. Too many of those, who were not rooted and grounded in that covenant of grace which is common alike to the three Dispensations Patriarchal and Levitical and Christian, were induced, by the flatteries or alluring promises of the Roman magistrates, to dissemble their belief, to renounce their religion, and to burn incense upon the altars of Paganism: but those, who thoroughly understood the principles and importance of their faith, firmly retained and practised the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. Hence, through the fury of ten general persecutions which successively raged for many years, the persons, who spiritually knew their God, suffered by sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil.

The period, which is thus described in the prediction, extended, from the year 70 when Titus set up the abomination of desolation in the temple of Jerusalem, down to the year 313 which was distinguished by the famous edict of Constantine in favour of Christianity.

2. To the first period succeeds a second, which is marked by very different characteristics.

*Now, when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries*¹.

In the reign of Constantine, Christianity, having survived the last and most violent persecution set on foot by Dioclesian, became the established religion of the Rôman Empire. Thus were believers holpen, even in the very midst of slaughter. But the help, which they received from the state, is described as being only a little help. To a man of secular views this assertion may seem strange and paradoxical : but the Spirit of God beholds matters intrinsically and really, not extrinsically and apparently. The national establishment of Christianity, as Bishop Newton well remarks on the passage, *though it added much to the temporal prosperity, yet contributed little to the spiritual graces and virtues, of Christians. It enlarged their revenues and increased their endowments : but it proved the fatal mean of corrupting the doctrine, and relaxing the discipline, of the Church.* Another disadvantage likewise attended it, which the inspired revealer fails not to notice : *many clove to them with flatteries.* As Christianity was now become the court religion, every person, who wished to push his interest with the ruling powers, failed not to avow himself a convert to the faith of the Emperor. Hence it is remarked by a contemporary historian, that one of the master vices of the times was the dissimulation and hypocrisy of those numerous persons, who fraudulently crept into the Church, and who borrowed the name of Christians without possessing any thing of the reality¹.

¹ Euseb. de vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. 54.

This second period extended, from the year 313 when Constantine promulged his edict in favour of Christianity, down to the year 604 when the grand term of seven prophetic times was 'bipartited and when the allotted three times and a half of apostate papal tyranny "commenced. As the real help, afforded to the Church,' was small and equivocal : so, during the present spiritually inauspicious period, that demonolatrous Apostasy was rapidly growing up, which was completed by the revelation of the man of sin at the beginning of the latter 1260 years, and which soon led to another persecution of the men of religious understanding.

3. The leading characteristic of the third period is the same as that of the first : but, during the first, persecution is appended, as its consequence, to *simple instruction* ; while, during the third, persecution is appended, as its consequence, to the *reformation* of those, who had been *already* instructed, but who *now* needed to be reformed.

And some of them of understanding shall fall, in purifying them, and in purging them, and in making them white, even to the time of the end : because it is yet unto the time appointed¹.

A race of zealous and faithful and enlightened reformers is here manifestly described, as subsisting without interruption during the whole of the third period : and they are said to purify and to purge and to make white those erring persons, who required such a process, down even to the time of

¹ Dan. xi. 35.

the end or to the close of the 1260 years of the great dominant Apostasy. In this labour of love, some of them fall or perish by the sword of persecution: but, though their task of purification continues to be performed to the very time of the end; it is not said, that they fall, either unintermittedly through the whole period, or down to the absolute close of their work of reformation. The men of understanding, we are told, are engaged in purifying certain apostates from the faith, even to the very time of the end: but we are not told, that they are subjected to positive persecution, down to the same epoch. Hence the third period will terminate with some sufficiently marked close of this new persecution, which, in its grand features, resembles the old persecution of pagan Rome.

This period, thus specifically described, plainly coincides with the largest portion of those three prophetic times and a half, which are allotted to the persecuting tyranny of the little Roman horn and to the sackcloth ministration of the two apocalyptic witnesses¹. It is not said, that the two witnesses should be subjected to absolute pains and penalties or to the fires of literal martyrdom during the whole term of their ministration; but only that they should prophesy in sackcloth, or preach the sound Gospel in a depressed condition, to the end of the predetermined 1260 years. Accordingly, Daniel's more modern men of understanding, the spiritual succes-

¹ Rev. xi. 3.

sors of those more ancient men of understanding who laboured to instruct many during the period of heathen persecution, are engaged in the work of purifying their apostate brethren, down to the very time of the end: but it is not said, that they shall continue to fall by the sword, down to the time of the end; nor is it said, that more than *some* of them shall thus perish by violence. Such being the case, the period, which we are now considering, will expire, when the flames of persecution are (as it were) with one consent extinguished.

If we consult history, I know not, that any time, to speak in general terms, can be more properly selected for this event, than the close of the seventeenth century.

The latter part of that age was distinguished by a bitter persecution and by a systematic attempt to suppress the Reformation, in almost every region of papal Europe. But, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, though some instances of individual suffering may have occurred subsequent to its commencement; yet, by a gradual revolution of sentiment, in despite of the authoritative decrees of ecumenical and therefore reputedly infallible Councils, the madness and impiety of persecution for conscience sake has been more and more perceived and acknowledged, until at length, in the strict sense of the term, it has vanished from off the face of the Roman Empire. In a word, the seventeenth century was not more marked by a persecuting opposition to the sincere word of God, than the eighteenth century has been

marked by a general toleration. With a new age, a new spirit may be said to have been introduced : and I think we may safely assert, that the eighteenth century has been as much opposed to the murderous policy of persecution, as the seventeenth century, throughout papal Europe, was favourable to it.

On these principles, since, at the close of the seventeenth century, the men of spiritual understanding ceased to fall by the sword and by fire, in their labour of purifying the adherents of the great Apostasy ; I would say, in general terms, that the third period extended, from the year 604 when the three times and a half of papal supremacy commenced, down to the close of the seventeenth century : and, as I would make such an assertion in general terms, so would I more specially and definitely pronounce, that this third period extended, from the year 604, down to the year 1697 when (as we shall hereafter find) the second apocalyptic woe was brought to its termination ¹.

4. We now come to the fourth period marked out in the prophecy ; a period, distinguished by characteristics of a nature not a little wonderful and extraordinary.

This fourth period the revealing angel places immediately after the third period, or the period which is characterised by a persecution of the more modern men of understanding while sedulously engaged on an eminent work of reformation. But the third

¹ See below book iv. chap. 7. § II. 5.

period expired, as there is reason to believe, in the year 1697. Therefore, in the same year 1697, the fourth period must have commenced.

Now the third period expired synchronically with the termination of the second apocalyptic woe. Hence the fourth period, commencing with the expiration of the third period, will synchronise, partly with the short time which elapses between the termination of the second woe and the beginning of the third woe, and partly with that portion of the season occupied by the third woe itself which expires at the commencement of the time of the end ¹.

Such being the case, this fourth period will largely synchronise with the term, which, in reference to the latter times, is, by the prophets of the New Testament, denominated *the last time*. For, as the latter times are eminently the times of the two first woes, so the last time is specially the time of the third woe: the short season, which intervenes between the end of the second woe and the beginning of the third woe, being (as it were) the connecting season of preparation, during which the spirit of the two first woes gives place to the spirit of the third woe ².

But the spirit of the two first woes, or the spirit of the latter times, is eminently a spirit of apostate superstition: while the spirit of the third woe, or the spirit of the last time, is eminently a spirit

¹ Rev. xi. 14, 15. Dan. xi. 39, 40.

" ² See above book i. chap. 7. § II.

of atheism and infidelity and anarchy and profligacy¹.

Consequently, since the fourth period marked out in the present vision synchronises, partly with the short preparatory season which intervenes between the end of the second woe and the beginning of the third woe, and partly with all that portion of the last time or the third woe which reaches to what is styled *the time of the end*: this fourth period, thus synchronising, must be similarly characterised by a spirit of anarchical infidelity, viewed as succeeding that spirit of religious persecution which so peculiarly marked the third period.

That such, accordingly, is its leading characteristic, will, I think, sufficiently appear from the prophetic description which is given of it by the revealing angel,

And that king shall do according to his will. And he shall exalt and magnify himself above every God. And, above the God of gods, shall he speak marvellous things. And he shall prosper, until his angry defiance shall be finished: for the thing determined upon shall be done. And, unto the gods of his fathers, he shall have no respect; and, unto the Desire of women, and unto every god, he shall have no respect: for above all he shall magnify himself. Yet, together with a god, shall he honour strong military protectors in his office; even, together with

See above book i. chap. 7. § I. II.

a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour them with gold and silver and precious stones and desireable things. Thus shall he do for the restrainers of the strong military protectors, together with the foreign god whom he shall acknowledge : he shall multiply glory ; and he shall cause them to rule over many ; and he shall divide the land among them by barter ¹.

The character of the wilful king, here presented to our attention, is so strongly and so unambiguously marked, that a Romish expositor, who flourished early in the seventeenth century, when as yet infidelity was but feebly germinating, remarked, from the general tenor of the prophecy : that this king was that monster, whom, under the name of *Antichrist*, the Church had expected from the very beginning ; and that, when revealed, he would be an avowed atheist, who would not only abolish the worship of idols, but who would stand up against Christ and take away the name and adoration of the true God ².

In forming such an estimate of the character of the wilful king, Cornelius a Lapide is, I apprehend, perfectly correct. The great Antichrist had been described by St. John, who is the only one of the

¹ Dan. xi. 36—39.

² Ex hoc ergo versu et ex versu præcedente (Dan. xi. 37, 38.) colligitur, Antichristum fore atheum ; eumque, cum pleno potietur imperio, non tantum Christum et idola, sed et veri Dei nomen et cultum, ablaturum. Cornel. a Lapid. Comment. in loc.

sacred writers that uses the term, as the præeminent liar and apostate, who should deny the Father and the Son¹. But the wilful king is, by Daniel, exhibited to us, as acting the very same part, and as performing the very same deed. Hence the conclusion, drawn by the Romish commentator, was just and natural and accurate. The donation of the name of *Antichrist* to the Pope is purely gratuitous. It rests upon no certain warrant of Scripture: and, indeed, it may rather be said to contradict it. The predicted Antichrist is an infidel and an atheist. Under this precise and definite aspect, he is represented both by Daniel and by St. John. Whatever, therefore, may have been the delinquencies of the Papacy, the character of the Antichrist, at all events, belongs not to it. In pronouncing that the Antichrist would be an avowed atheist, who would stand up against Christ and who would labour to take away the name and adoration of the true God, Cornelius a Lapide judged well and scripturally. His error was that of the early Fathers: who, in direct violation of the general analogy of the prophecies of Daniel and John, fancied, that the Antichrist would be a single individual, destined toward the end of the world to seize upon the Roman Empire. But the Antichrist is no mere individual. On the contrary, he is a well defined political Power or Empire, readily ascertained from the context and tenor of the prophecy now before

¹ 1 John ii. 22.

us: while his spirit, to adopt the phraseology of the Apostle, 'is the leading spirit or principle, the spirit namely of infidelity, which actuates and characterises his members ¹: *I fear*, said a late eminent prelate of the English Church in reference to this extraordinary prediction of Daniel: *I fear, I too strongly see the rise, instead of the fall, of the Antichrist of the West: who shall be neither a Protestant nor a Papist; who shall be neither Christian, nor Jew, nor Heathen; who shall worship neither god, nor angel, nor saint; who will neither supplicate the invisible Majesty of Heaven, nor fall down before an idol*².

What Power, then, or Empire, it will be asked, is the wilful king, so minutely described by Daniel, and so distinctly by his spirit and actions identified with the Antichrist of St. John?

This question must be answered by a careful reference to the context and tenor of the prophecy.

The strictly definite expression, THAT KING, for such is the import of the original Hebrew, refers us, of plain necessity, to a Power, *already* mentioned in an earlier part of the prediction, and *then* constituting the chief figure on the prophetic canvas. This reference is a matter of absolute certainty; because it is involved in the very phraseology of the passage itself: hence our only inquiry respects the *already* mentioned and *then* predominating Power,

¹ 1 John iv. 3.

² Bp. Horsley's Letter on Isaiah xviii. p. 105, 106.

to which, on the ordinary principles of composition, the reference is directed.

Now the Power, *already* mentioned and *then* predominant, is, most undoubtedly, the Roman Empire: which, in regular succession to the Macedonian Empire continued in, the two Greek lines of Syria and Egypt, had been introduced to our notice under the appellation of *the Seed* or *Progeny of the Chittim*.

Therefore, from the very necessity of the emphatic construction of the phrase, THAT KING can only be identified with the Roman Empire.

Such being the case, the chronology of Daniel's fourth period, with which we are at present specially concerned, requires us to view THAT KING, while acting upon the principles and performing the deeds ascribed to him in the clause of the prophecy now under examination, not as the Roman Empire generally from first to last, but as the Roman Empire particularly from the year 1697 down to the commencement of what Daniel calls *the time of the end*.

But the time of the end, if I have at all succeeded in fixing the date of the latter three times and a half, will commence in the year 1864.

Therefore, unless I have wholly failed in this particular, the Power, emphatically styled by the revealing angel THAT KING, must be viewed, as the Roman Empire chronologically existing, from the year 1697 when the second woe terminated; down to the year 1864 when the time of the end commences.

Now, during this period thus specifically defined,

the Roman Empire subsists only in that divided condition, to which it was brought by the springing up of the ten Gothic kingdoms in the fifth and sixth centuries." Yet, during a *part* at least of this period, it subsists, not only in the condition symbolically represented by the rise of ten horns upon one of the seven heads of a monstrous wild-beast, but likewise in subjection to that seventh short-lived and ultimately reviving head under which (as we are taught in the Apocalypse) it will go to final destruction¹: for the Empire, denominated THAT KING, is brought to its end at the close of that fifth of Daniel's periods, which we shall presently consider²: whence the head, which directs it during the whole of its ultimate predicted expedition, must have started into existence, *anterior* to the fifth period, or *in the course* of the fourth period.

Under such circumstances, the Roman Empire, being no longer, during the accomplishment of the present clause of the prophecy, one great undivided Power, but, on the contrary, being broken into various kingdoms though still possessing some either *ostensible* or *effective* supreme head: under such circumstances, for the due completion of the oracle, the Roman Empire, as set forth under the emphatic title of THAT KING, can only act through the instrumentality of some one or more of its constituent members; through the instrumentality, for instance, of what is symbolically styled a *head* or a *horn* of the wild-beast.

¹ Rev. xvii. 10, 11.

² Dan. xi. 40—45.

Yet, while this only can be the mode of action adopted by a divided Empire, the tenor of the prediction seems not obscurely to intimate, that the *disposition* of the acting head or horn will prevail very generally throughout the divided Empire itself: in other words, we appear to gather, that, if the Empire plays the part of the God-denying Antichrist more *avowedly* and more *practically* through the instrumentality of some one specially potent head or horn, the *spirit* at least of the Antichrist will be diffused very widely throughout all the members of the Empire; so that an extensive *assent* and *approbation* shall be given to those principles of daring infidelity, which, according to St. John, constitute the very badge and essence of the great Antichrist.

These matters being laid down, we may say generally of the prophecy respecting the fourth of Daniel's periods: that it announces a spirit of lawless infidelity, as peculiarly springing up from about the latter end of the seventeenth century throughout the territories of the divided Roman Empire, as specially developing itself in overt action through the instrumentality of some conspicuous member of that Empire, and as more or less directed by that seventh head or form of polity which was destined to be soon indeed slain by the sword of violence but, which was also destined in due time to be healed of the deadly wound which should be, inflicted upon it¹.

¹ Rev. xiii. 3, 12, 14, xvii. 8—11.

I may here properly observe, that, as Daniel's wilful king identifies himself, on the one hand, with the God-denying Antichrist, and, on the other hand, with the divided Roman Empire during a well-defined portion of its later existence: so does this identification sufficiently agree with the opinion entertained in the early Church, respecting the ten-horned wild-beast of Daniel and St. John. That symbolical monster was always thought to be, either Antichrist himself, or the Roman Empire out of which Antichrist should spring and over which he should domineer in the character of the short-lived seventh head¹. Various wild notions were held, indeed, respecting the rise of an individual or personal Antichrist: but *that* Antichrist was always connected with the ten-horned wild-beast and with the divided Roman Empire. Now, to the same *general* conclusion, we have been conducted by the process of my own research. The character of the wilful king determines him to be the great Antichrist of St. John: while the context and tenor of the prophecy no less determine him to be the divided Roman Empire from about the chronological close of the seventeenth century. Hence, the Roman Empire, from that chronological epoch, stands identified with the Antichrist of St. John. But the Roman Empire is also identified with the ten-horned wild-beast: while the ten-horned wild-

¹ See Iren. adv. hæer. lib. v. c. 23, 25. Hieron, Comment. in Dan. vii. 7, 8.

beast was esteemed, in the early Church, either Antichrist himself, or the Roman Empire viewed as specially subsisting under Antichrist its seventh head. Hence the result will be, that the wilful king, the ten-horned wild-beast, the divided Roman Empire during a specified term of its later existence, and the great God-denyng Antichrist, are all identical.

The general import of the prophecy before us has now been pointed out : for the accuracy of its accomplishment, we may appeal to history.

Through the proper dominions of the divided Roman Empire, the pest of Antichristian Infidelity began to germinate even during the peculiar period of ecclesiastical persecution, just as some relics of ecclesiastical persecution may be observed during the peculiar period of antichristian infidelity : for, as time rolls along, the machinations of the evil one melt into each other, like the lurid hues of some infernal rainbow. Yet the line of demarcation, between Daniel's third period and Daniel's fourth period, may be clearly enough discerned to pass through the close of the seventeenth century : or, if we be willing yet more definitely to express the matter, I would say, that, in the eye of chronological prophecy which delights in fixed and determinate epochs, this line passes through the year 1697, when the second apocalyptic woe was brought to its predicted end. This remark may be profitably borne in mind, while I attempt a brief sketch of the rise and progress of Antichristian Infidelity

within the territories of the Western Roman Empire or yet more extensively within the region emphatically denominated *Christendom*.

At the revival of letters in Europe, almost the first discovery, which was made, was that of the multifarious superstitions maintained by the Church of Rome. These, through the decrees of Popes and the decisions of Councils, had long been held up to the world as the essentials of Christianity: and every impugner of them had been treated, both theoretically and practically, as a damnable heretic. The consequence, with half-taught and superficial inquirers, was, that the errors of Popery were charged upon the Gospel: and, because *they* were evidently vain superstitions, *it* was pronounced to be a vain superstition likewise. From this fermentation of the human mind, first arose scepticism: and, when doubts had once sprung up, scepticism, through the fostering instrumentality of such men as Herbert and Hobbes in England and Spinoza and Vanini on the continent, was rapidly matured, in the course of the seventeenth age, into infidelity and even into atheism¹.

¹ For a more full account of these matters, see Bishop Van Mildert's *Histor. View of Infidelity*, serm. ix. *It is certain*, says the ecclesiastical historian Mosheim, *that, in the sixteenth century, there lay concealed, in different parts of Europe, several persons, who entertained a virulent enmity against religion in general and in a more especial manner against the religion of the Gospel; who, both in their writings and in their private conversation, sowed the seeds of impiety and error, and*

As yet, however, the efforts of unbelief were chiefly confined to a few speculative *individuals*: a tendency to infidelity was not *the characteristic badge of the times*. But, at the close of the seventeenth and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, we begin to discover more distinctly *the rising spirit of a period*.

Bishop Burnet complains, that, after the accession of William of Nassau to the throne of England, there began to display itself a strange propensity to deism and infidelity: and the Works of our best divines, subsequent to that epoch, shew, by the very controversy which they were obliged to maintain, the truth and justice of that prelate's complaint². Hence *the opening of the eighteenth century presented a formidable aspect, yet not altogether hopeless, to the friends of Christianity. Deism was making rapid strides: but the attention of the learned and the pious was awakened to the danger; and the aids of sound literature and*

who instilled their odious principles into weak and credulous minds. It is even reported, that, in certain provinces of France and Italy, schools were erected, whence these impious doctors issued to deceive the simple and unwary. Eccles. Hist. cent. xvi. sect. 2. § V. Determined infidelity was likewise charged against the Templars, when their order was suppressed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. What degree of truth there may have been in this allegation, I pretend not to determine: at all events, there can be little doubt, I think, that their misdeeds were grossly exaggerated.

¹ Bp. Burnet's History of his own times, A. D. 1698. Bp. Warburton's Dedic. of Div. Legat. to the Freethinkers.

*solid argumentation were brought with alacrity in defence of the Christian faith. The emissaries of Satan, however, were not easily repulsed or discouraged: but they contended, as they have always done, with a zeal and pertinacity worthy of a better cause. Herbert and Hobbes and Spinoza had, in the preceding century, laid the ground-work of the design: and labourers were not wanting, to complete the superstructure. The names of Blount, Toland, Shaftesbury, Collins, Woolston, Tindal, Morgan, and Chubb, stand foremost in this list among our own countrymen, and rank high in the estimation of infidels*¹.

In furtherance of the plan, toward the end of the year 1697, was published the celebrated Dictionary of Mr. Bayle. The Parisian booksellers, perceiving that there was a great demand for it, wished to reprint this Work; and thence applied, for a privilege, to Boucherat, the chancellor of France: but, on examination, it received the following character. *Mr. Bayle's production contains a new scheme of religion. The author has quoted the Fathers, with no other design than to turn them into ridicule. He has every where established Pelagianism and Scepticism. An insufferable obscenity runs through the whole of his book*².

¹ Bp. Van Mildert's Hist. View. of Infidel. serm. x. vol. i. p. 356, 357.

² Butt on the Rev. p. 11, 12.

The Dictionary of Bayle was the forerunner and prototype of the French Encyclopedia. Accordingly, in the year 1767, the king of Prussia, himself one of the chief promoters of infidelity, made the following declaration, when addressing his master Voltaire. *To Bayle your forerunner and to yourself, no doubt, is due the honour of that revolution, which is now working in the minds of men*¹.

As we advance toward the latter end of the eighteenth century, we may observe yet greater activity on the part of the infidel faction and a yet more distinctly evident developement of what had now become *the characteristic spirit of a period*. Antichristianism, the essence of which (as we learn from St. John) is a denial of the Father and the Son, was diffused after a manner unknown in any former age. No class of society was exempt from its poison. Publications, adapted to the comprehension of the lower orders, were zealously distributed throughout every country in Europe: and, as a mind unused to argument can readily see an objection without being able accurately to follow the train of reasoning which pervades the confutation of it; a captious doubt, once injected into the head of an illiterate man, can scarcely ever be removed even by the clearest exhibition of the evidences of Christianity. Impudent assertion now occupied the place of proof: and, to be convicted of false representation, was little regarded by those,

¹ Butt on the Rev. p. 12.

whose object was to disseminate error, and who had regularly calculated that an atheistical or deistical publication would be read by many that would probably never see the answer to it. *Formerly*, infidelity was conveyed in the shape of a professed treatise : and they, who chose to peruse it, were at least *aware* of what they might expect. But, *recently*, the lurking poison of unbelief has been *served up in every shape, that is likely to allure, surprise, or beguile, the imagination : in a fable, a tale, a novel, a poem ; in interspersed and broken hints, remote and oblique surmises ; in books of travels, of philosophy, of natural history ; in a word, in any form rather than that of a professed and regular disquisition*¹. *Scoffers there always have been (men, deriding and contemning the will of God, and following their own imaginations in opposition to that will), from the first promulgation of Christianity, down to the present hour. But, if it be MORE characteristic of one age than of another, to ABOUND in such opponents to truth, and to be DISTINGUISHED by such marks of impiety ; we have reason to consider the present, as PREEMINENTLY ENTITLED to that distinction*². *The infidelity of these last days carries*

¹ Paley's Moral Philos. book v. chap. 9. vol. ii. p. 106. The whole of this chapter is worthy of our serious attention. See also Bp. Van Mildert's Hist. View of Infidel. serm. xi. vol. i. p. 395—403.

² Bp. Van Mildert's Hist. View of Infid. serm. xi. vol. i. p. 393, 394.

with it features of the most remarkable kind: and the materials, which it supplies for awful reflection, are many in number and peculiar in character. Fearful and rapid is the progress of impiety: and easily does it happen, that evil men and seducers wax worse and worse, when they associate together and strengthen each other in wickedness. The solitary atheist, who in his closet weaves the web of sophistry, though he may occasion the destruction of some few who heedlessly entangle themselves in his toils, is an object rather of contempt than of terror. But, when men of turbulent and ambitious spirit, covetous of applause, or anxious to lessen their own uneasiness by communicating a portion of it to others, encourage themselves in mischief, and commune among themselves how they may lay snares and say that no man shall see them: then it is, that the work of Satan prospers¹.

An effect exists not without a cause. Voltaire speaks of *the truly philosophical spirit*, which prevailed in the middle of the eighteenth century: and we all know the nature and tendency of that philosophy, which he justly pronounces to be *the characteristic spirit of the age*². What, then,

¹ Bp. Van Mildert's Hist. View of Infid. serm. x. vol. i., p. 387, 388.

² Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV. chap. 31. vol. ii. p. 192. The whole chapter professedly exhibits the gradual melting of the spirit of superstitious intolerance into the spirit of contemptuous infidelity: or, in other words, it exhibits the gradual melting of

was the cause, which produced such an effect? We are led, even from the very necessity of the case, to suspect, that some more potent engine, the characteristic spirit of Daniel's third period into the equally characteristic spirit of his fourth period. Like myself, Voltaire, led only by facts, places the line of demarcation, or what may be styled the turning point, toward the latter end of the seventeenth century.

It was then first, says he, that endeavours began to be used to open the eyes of the people in relation to the superstitions, which they are so apt to mingle with their religion. It was no longer accounted criminal to know (whatever sentiments the Parliament of Aix or the Carmelites might entertain), that Lazarus and Mary Magdalene had never been in Provence. The Benedictines could gain no credit to their assertion, that Dionysius the Areopagite had governed the Church of Paris. Supposed saints, pretended miracles, false relics, began to lose repute. Sound reason, which had produced such a reformation in philosophy, penetrated every where, though slowly and with difficulty. The Bishop of Chalons, Gaston Louis de Noailles, brother to the Cardinal of that name, joined so much good sense to his piety, that, in the year 1702, he destroyed a relic, preserved with great care for many ages in the church of Notre-Dame, and adored under the name of the navel of Jesus Christ. All Chalons murmured against the Bishop. Presidents, counsellors, kings, officers, treasurers of France, merchants, principal citizens, canons, curates, protested unanimously and in form against the attempt of the Bishop: demanding to have the holy navel restored; and alleging the robe of Jesus Christ preserved at Argenteuil, his handkerchief at Turin and at Laon, and one of the nails of the cross at St. Denis. But the prudent firmness of the Bishop prevailed in the end over the credulity of the people. Some other superstitions, attached to respected usages, still subsist—The truly philosophical spirit did not prevail till about the middle of this age. Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV. chap. 31. vol. ii. p. 191, 192.

than the mere insulated labours of a few solitary infidels, must have been systematically brought into active operation: and the justice of this suspicion is amply demonstrated by the now ascertained FACT of *a systematic confederacy*, which, starting into existence early in the eighteenth century, has developed itself far and wide throughout the territories of the Western Roman Empire.

That awfully curious subject, *the rise and progress of Jacobinism* (Jacobinism, which has been well defined as meaning hostility to religion and virtue and monarchy and laws and social order), has been fully and laboriously discussed by two respectable modern writers, unconnected with each other, and members both of different nations and of different Churches¹. The facts which they adduce, after every fair allowance has been made for exaggeration, distinctly prove: that, early in the eighteenth century, a combination or confederacy of infidels began to be formed, for the purpose of extinguishing Christianity and of dissolving the whole frame of society; that the system, adopted for the execution of this nefarious purpose, was extended, with unexampled perseverance and art and secrecy, to every country within the limits of civilised Europe; and that, as this systematic con-

¹ The Abbè Barruel and Professor Robison. A well-digested and sufficiently copious account of this matter is also given by Bp. Van Mildert. See his *Hist. View of Infid.* serm. x, xi. vol. i. p. 382—422.

spiracy originated in France, so it has been the main spring of the French Revolution.

In the year 1694, was born the celebrated Voltaire: and, so early as the year 1720, he had formed the horrible design of establishing a confederation of infidels with the express view of eradicating all religion, whether as corrupted by Popery or as maintained by Protestantism. His plan, in regard to the establishment of the confederacy, succeeded to his utmost wishes: the speculations of infidelity, which had hitherto been loosely floating in the literary world, were first embodied into a regular practical system, by himself, d'Alembert, Frederic of Prussia, Diderot, and their various confederates in iniquity: and the mystery of Antichrist may be said to have been completed, when, in the year 1776, the kindred genius of Weishaupt founded the subsidiary and afterward conjoined sect or combination of the German Illuminati.

The fruit of this diabolical plot, the ramifications of which extended throughout all Europe, was the infidel revolution of France. That revolution commenced in the year 1789: and the principles, which were then daringly and unreservedly avowed in every quarter of the Western Roman Empire or rather in every quarter of apostate Christendom, are fresh in the actual recollection of many thousand living witnesses. *At this day*, observed even Dr. Priestley himself in the year 1796; a writer, to whom no very violent prejudices, in favour either of sound religion or of monarchical government,

can reasonably be ascribed : *At this day, and especially since the revolution in France, unbelievers appear without any disguise, openly insulting the Christian religion and assailing it by wit and argument ; and the writings of unbelievers, now that they can do it with impunity and even applause, are exceedingly multiplied* ¹.

With respect to the existence of a regularly organised and well disciplined confederacy against religion on the one hand and social order on the other hand, the FACT of such existence, wonderful and almost incredible as it may appear, *is supported by abundant evidence, drawn from the writings of the conspirators themselves and of their infidel biographers : and it remains, as to its most prominent and important points, unshaken, notwithstanding the efforts of some interested opponents to destroy its credit* ². If, however, a brief and distinct proof be required, we have it in the open confession of an arch-atheist. Condorcet, one of the most able and active members of the sect, has acknowledged, or rather has boasted, that there had long been in Europe a systematic combination of unbelievers, banded together for the nefarious purpose, of at once overturning the throne and the altar, of at once letting loose those two dogs of hell Anarchy and Atheism.

There was a class of men, says he, which was

¹ Cited by Kett, in Hist. the Interp. of Proph. vol. ii. p. 142.

² Bp. Van Mildert's Hist. View of Infid. serm. xi. vol. i. p. 400, 401.

soon formed in Europe, with a view, not so much to discover and make deep research after truth, as to diffuse it: whose chief object was to attack prejudices in the very asylums, where the clergy, the schools, the governments, and the ancient corporations, had received and protected them: and who made their glory to consist, rather in destroying popular error, than in extending the limits of human knowledge. This, though an indirect method of forwarding its progress, was not, on that account, either less dangerous or less useful. In England, Collins and Bolingbroke; in France, Bayle and Fontenelle and Voltaire and Montesquieu and the schools formed by these men; combated in favour of truth. They alternately employed all the arms, with which learning and philosophy, with which wit and the talent of writing, could furnish them. Assuming every tone, taking every shape, from the ludicrous to the pathetic, from the most learned and extensive compilation to the novel or the petty pamphlet of the day; covering truth with a veil, which, sparing the eye that was too weak to bear it, left to the reader the pleasure of guessing it; insidiously caressing prejudices, in order to strike at them with more certainty and effect; seldom menacing more than one at a time, and that only in part; sometimes soothing the enemies of reason, by seeming to ask but for a half toleration in religion or a half liberty in polity; respecting despotism when they combated religious absurdities, and re-

ligion when they attacked tyranny; COMBATING THESE TWO PESTS IN THEIR VERY PRINCIPLES, though apparently inveighing against ridiculous and disgusting abuses; STRIKING AT THE ROOT OF THOSE PESTIFEROUS TREES, whilst they appeared only to wish to lop the straggling branches; at one time, pointing out superstition, which covers despotism with its impenetrable shield, to the friends of liberty, as the first victim which they are to immolate, as the first chain to be cleft asunder; at another time, denouncing superstition to despots as the real enemy of their power, and alarming them with a representation of its hypocritical plots and sanguinary rage; but never ceasing to claim the independence of reason and the liberty of the press, as the right and safeguard of mankind; inveighing, with enthusiastic energy, against the crimes of fanaticism and tyranny; reprobating every thing, which bore the character of oppression or harshness or barbarity, whether in religion or administration or morals or laws; commanding kings, warriors, priests, and magistrates, in the name of nature, to spare the blood of men; reproaching them, in a strain of the most energetic severity, with that which their policy or indifference prodigally lavished on the scaffold or in the field of battle; in fine, adopting the words REASON and TOLERATION and HUMANITY, as their signal and call to arms. Such was the modern philosophy, so much detested by those numerous classes which exist only by the aid of

*prejudices. Its chiefs had the art of escaping vengeance, while they exposed themselves to hatred; of concealing themselves from persecution, while they made themselves sufficiently conspicuous to lose nothing of their glory*¹.

In order, as it were, that the import of this remarkable statement may be free from all possibility of misapprehension, the same Condorcet plainly tells us, what effects the TRUTH, propagated by Voltaire, *did* produce. Celebrating the glories and benefits of the French Revolution, he observes, *that it would have been impossible to shew in a clearer light the eternal obligations which human nature has to Voltaire. Circumstances were favourable. He did not foresee all that he has done: but he has done all that we now see*². In order, moreover, that we may not too candidly fancy, that Voltaire's zeal was directed only against the abuses of Popery, while he respected genuine Christianity: he himself unequivocally informs us, that the very Gospel of the Messiah, whether as understood by Protestants or as expounded by Papists, was the real object of his animosity. *I am weary*, says this wretched apostate, *of hearing people repeat, that twelve men have been sufficient to establish Christianity: I will prove, that*

° Esquisse d'un tableau historique du progrès de l'esprit humain, par Condorcet. See Barruel's Mem. of Jacobin. vol. ii. p. 133.

² Life of Voltaire, cited by Kett.

one may suffice to overthrow it. Strike, but conceal your hand. The mysteries of Mithras are not to be divulged. The monster must fall, pierced by a thousand invisible hands. Yes, let it fall beneath a thousand repeated blows. I fear, that you are not sufficiently zealous. You bury your talents. You seem only to condemn, when you should abhor and destroy, the monster. With such language, the foregoing statement of Condorcet perfectly agrees. By that writer, *religion* is used as the synonym of *religious absurdities* : while government and religion are declared to be the two pests, which the new philosophy combats in their very principles, though apparently inveighing only against ridiculous and disgusting abuses.

It is not perfectly ascertained, that Voltaire *himself* wished for more than the overthrow of religion and royalty : but, as evil is never stationary, after the German union had been completed, a yet more extensive plan of mischief was resolved upon. The infernal ingenuity of Weishaupt contrived a method of subverting, not only religion and royalty, but all governments whatsoever : and Jacobinism, that consummation of united French and German depravity, proposed to set mankind free from every restraint both human and divine, and to let them loose upon each other like an infuriated herd of wild beasts.

We may readily conceive, that that part of the conspiracy, which respected political disorganiza-

tion, was carefully concealed from those royal and princely adepts, who were made the dupes and the tools of its real contrivers and effective managers. On this concealment the very success of the plot itself plainly depended : for, however such monarchs as Frederic of Prussia might be disposed to enact the part of Julian in regard to Christianity, they would be little inclined to patronise a system, which, labouring to produce an universal confusion, eminently proscribed the sceptre of regal sovereignty. Condorcet, accordingly, teaches us very distinctly the nature of the management, which was adopted by the conspirators. While, to the secret friends of liberty, they pointed out, that despotism would be most effectually destroyed, by first, as a preparatory step, eradicating superstition : to their blinded dupes in the college of European princes, they denounced superstition as the real enemy of their power, and alarmed them with a representation of its hypocritical plots and sanguinary rage.

With this obvious exception in regard to the political part of the plot so far as Kings and Princes were concerned, the diabolical principles of the antichristian confederacy, even before the foundation of Weishaupt's order of the Illuminati, were favoured, chiefly through the incessant labours of Voltaire, by the Sovereigns of Russia and Poland and Prussia, and by a numerous host of Landgraves and Margraves and Dukes and Electors and Princes. They had penetrated into Bohemia, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, and Italy. They had many zealous

advocates in England. They had thoroughly impregnated France and Germany. In short, they had, more or less, pervaded the whole Roman Empire : and, extending themselves even beyond the limits of that Empire, they had shed their baleful infection throughout all Europe. The spirit of the great predicted Antichrist, who should be known by his denial of the Father and the Son, was now palpably abroad : and the very age itself was characteristically denominated *the age of reason* ; a title, by which was unequivocally and avowedly intended *the age of infidelity*. Daniel had described his fourth period, as a period of daring unbelief and of presumptuous defiance hurled against the Omnipotent himself : and he had chronologically arranged it, as succeeding a prior period of superstitious intolerance and persecution. The event has shewn the accuracy of his prediction : for *the spirit of the age of reason*, which has succeeded to *the spirit of the age of intolerance*, is the identical spirit of the prophetic period now under our special consideration.

But, though such may be *the spirit of the age*, as latterly prevailing to a greater or a less extent throughout the apostate Roman Empire, and as adopted eagerly by many even of the governing powers themselves ; a spirit, under the influence of which that Empire has exalted itself above every god whether true or false, has spoken marvellous things against the God of gods, has had no respect to the gods of ancient Rome, and, has nevertheless

magnified itself against the divine religion of Christ the Redeemer : yet, for the more complete developement of the antichristian spirit in absolute political action and as reduced from theory to practice, we must turn our eyes to an eminent member of the Empire, through the instrumentality of which it mainly displayed its principles, and out of which arose its seventh short-lived but, ultimately to be revived form of ruling polity¹. For, as I have already observed, since the prediction chronologically respects the Roman Empire in its divided state ; we must seek the accomplishment of the prediction, not only in the general spirit of that Empire as evinced since the commencement of the eighteenth century, but likewise in the particular deeds of any one of its constituent members through the instrumentality of which it may exhibit its spirit in actual operation and to which therefore the terms of the prediction may be yet more definitely and specially applicable. Hence, that we may the better see the exact completion of the prophecy in the Roman wild-beast, chiefly acting through the instrumentality of its principal horn and its seventh head in the chronological course of Daniel's fourth period, I shall now proceed to examine that prophecy, article by article, with a peculiar reference to the exploits of Revolutionary France, first democratic and afterward imperial.

¹ Rev. xiii. 3, 12, 14. xvii. 10, 11. See below book v. chap. 4. § III. 3. (7.) 4, 5.

(1.) *The Roman king, in the prediction, acting according to his own lawless will and pleasure, exalts himself above every god, speaks marvellous things against or above the God of gods, and has no respect either unto the gods of his fathers or unto the Desire of women or unto any god : for, above all, whatever may be the nature of the object, he proudly magnifies himself.*

We may remark, that, in the several connected clauses here jointly exhibited, we have a general proposition explained and established by three subordinate propositions.

The general proposition is, that *the Roman king should exalt himself above every god* : and this general proposition is explained and established by the three subordinate propositions, that *he should speak marvellous things against the God of gods*, that *he should have no respect unto the gods of his fathers*, and that *he should magnify himself above the Desire of women*. In shewing, therefore, the accomplishment of the three subordinate propositions, we shew also the accomplishment of the general proposition : because the three subordinate propositions jointly compose the substance of the general proposition, as the several parts of any matter jointly compose the whole.

The *first* of the three subordinate propositions is, that *the Roman king should speak marvellous things against or above the God of gods*.

By *the God of gods* we must obviously understand the only true God : and, as for *the marvellous*

lous things which the Roman king should speak against him, I can deem them no other than the outrageous blasphemies, first dictated in the recesses of the widely extended secret societies, and afterward openly promulged in the course of the French Revolution.

We cannot know ; such was the language employed by the hierophants of those orgies which Voltaire fantastically denominated the mysteries of Mithras : *We cannot know, whether a God really exists, or whether there is the smallest difference between good and evil or between virtue and vice. The Supreme Being, the God of philosophers and Jews and Christians, is but a chimera and a phantom. Human reason is the only supreme god. The immortality of the soul, so far from stimulating men to the practice of virtue, is nothing but a barbarous and desperate and fatal tenet.*

These marvellous things, uttered against and above the God of gods in the secret societies of Roman Antichristianism, were at length, in the course of the French Revolution, proclaimed aloud unblushingly and undisguisedly.

On the 26th of August in the year 1792, an open profession of atheism was made by the existing government of France : and, in strict accordance with this profession, a comedian, dressed as a priest or hierophant of the Illuminati from whose infernal machinations proceeded all the gross impiety of the age, publicly appeared, and personally

attacked the God of gods in language evidently borrowed from the mysteries of infidelity. *No !* exclaimed the miserable buffoon, *Thou dost not exist ! If thou hast power over the thunderbolts, grasp them ! Aim them at the man, who dares to set thee at defiance in the face of thine altars ! But, no ! I blasphème thee : and I still live ! No ! thou dost not exist !*

On the 23d of November in the year 1793, the legislators of France resolved, that, inasmuch as the people of Paris had declared that they acknowledge no other worship than that of Reason and Truth, all the churches and temples of the several religious persuasions should be instantly shut ; that every individual, who should require the opening of a church, should be put under arrest as a suspected person ; and that the will of those sections should be eminently regarded, which had renounced all religious worship except that of Reason and Liberty and the Republican Virtues. At the same time, the pupils of the new republican school appeared at the bar of the Convention : and one of them set forth, that all religious worship had been suppressed in his section, even to the very idea of religion. He added, that he and his schoolfellows detested God : and he stated, that, instead of learning Scripture, they learned the declaration of the rights of man. The impiety of these unhappy children the French government adopted as its own : for the president, in reply, expressed to them the high satisfaction of the Convention ; and

they were admitted, amidst the loudest applause, to what was called *the honours of the sitting*. In consequence of the edict relative to the abolition of all places of worship, the magnificent church of St. Genevieve at Paris was transmuted into a sort of pagan temple, dedicated to those men who were judged to have deserved well of their country : and, as such, it was aptly enough denominated *the Pantheon*. The persons, thus publicly and nationally honoured, were those who had shewn themselves most zealous in the cause of infidelity and irreligion. To this polluted sanctuary, the remains of Voltaire and Rousseau were conveyed in a solemn procession : and, as if to insult the Lord of hosts before his very face, the bones of the first of these miscreants were placed upon the high altar ; and incense was offered before them, while the infatuated populace bowed down, in silent adoration, before the relics of that arch-enemy to Christ.

On the 6th of November in the year 1792, a discourse upon atheism was pronounced by Dupont, and was loudly applauded by the assembled Convention.

On the 25th of October in the year 1793, the sabbath was abolished by the adoption of a new and fantastic calendar : every outward sign of religion was authoritatively decreed to be removed : and, by an inscription tyrannically placed in all burial grounds, death was declared to be only an eternal sleep.

On the 17th day of November in the same year,

Cloots did homage to the Convention : and, in his assumed character of the orator of the human race, he demanded, that, as it was now become an acknowledged truth that the adversaries of religion have deserved well of mankind, a statue should be erected in the temple of Reason to John Melier the first abjuring priest, whose *Philosophical Testament* spread desolation among all the sects that worship Christ ; a demand, which was gravely referred to a committee and cheerfully adopted.

About this time also, Gobet, the republican Bishop of Paris, entered the hall of the Convention, with his grand vicars and other unprincipled ecclesiastics : when they all solemnly resigned their functions, and abjured Christianity. Several of the priesthood likewise, both Romish and Protestant, who were members of the Convention, took this opportunity of apostatising : and Gregoire was the only man, who had courage to profess himself a Christian. *Will you, it was asked, who have overturned the throne, suffer the pontifical canopy to remain ? Will you, who have broken crowns and sceptres, preserve their proud rivals, the mitre and the cross ?*

The *second* of the three subordinate propositions is, that *the Roman king should have no respect unto the gods of his fathers.*

We may recollect, that, in the course of Daniel's present vision, the Romans are first brought upon the stage, in the capacity of the most prominent actors, under the appellation of *the seed or progeny*

*of the Chittim*¹. Hence it follows, that the Chittim of Italy, or the ancient pagan Romans, are the fathers of the wilful Roman king. But the gods of the ancient pagan Romans were the whole rabble of fictitious divinities. Therefore the second subordinate proposition asserts, that the Roman king, though speaking marvellous things against the God of gods, should not, on that account, the more venerate the false gods of the ancient Romans, his paganising forefathers ; but, on the contrary, that, rejecting alike both the true God of Scripture and the imaginary gods of the old mythology, he should toward the latter entertain no respect or religious devotion. From the worship of Jehovah he should atheistically apostatise : but his apostasy should not lead him back to the long abrogated paganism of his fathers.

I need scarcely remark, that this proposition has been accurately accomplished, both in the Roman Empire at large since the commencement of the eighteenth century, and in its Gallic member specially since the breaking out of the French Revolution. That spirit of the Antichrist, which introduced infidelity and atheism, equally forbid the adoration both of the scriptural Jehovah and of the capitoline Jupiter.

The *third* of the three subordinate propositions is, that *the Roman king should magnify himself above and should have no respect unto the Desire of women*.

¹ Dan. xi. 30, 31.

In regard to the specific nature and character of what is here styled *the Desire of women*, we may receive, I think, much abstract information from the peculiar construction of the clause, in the midst of which that remarkable expression is inserted.

That king shall exalt, and magnify himself above EVERY god. And, above the God of gods, shall he speak marvellous things: and, unto the gods of his fathers, he shall have no respect: and, unto the Desire of women, and unto EVERY god, he shall have no respect: for, above ALL, shall he magnify himself.

From the context thus furnished by the revealing angel, nothing can be more evident, than that *the Desire of women* is something homogeneous with *the God of gods* and *the gods of his fathers* and *every god*. The whole connected clause descends from a *general* to *particulars*, employing those *particulars* to establish the *general*. We are told, that *the Roman king shall magnify himself above EVERY god*: and this general proposition is established and explained by the several particulars, that *he should speak marvellous things against the God of gods*, and that *he should have no respect unto the gods of his fathers*, and that *he should have no respect unto the Desire of women*. Hence it is obvious, unless the rules of just composition be entirely violated, that *the Desire of women*, like *the God of gods*, and *the gods of his fathers*, must be subincluded in the generalising phrase *EVERY god*. Nor shall we be permitted to

doubt the propriety of this conclusion, if we attend yet more closely to the very peculiar construction of the clause. Not only, by the arrangement of the entire clause, is *the Desire of women* plainly sub-included in the generalising phrase *EVERY god*: but, likewise, this *Desire of women* is placed, as it were studiously, between *the gods of his fathers* and *EVERY god* repeated and borrowed from the beginning of the entire clause itself. *Unto the gods of his fathers, he shall have no respect: and, unto the Desire of women, and unto EVERY god, he shall have no respect.* Such a collocation, I think, compels us to suppose, that *the Desire of women* is a god of some description or another, whether true or false; which, like every other deity, the Roman king should defy and contemn. Nor is even this the whole that may be said respecting the peculiarity of the clause now under consideration. While the same verb of negation, *he shall have no respect*, is alike applied to all the three particulars, *the gods of his fathers* and *the Desire of women* and *every god*, thus clearly pointing out and determining their homogeneity: the whole sentence is wound up by a sweeping declaration; *For, above ALL, shall he magnify himself.* Now, by the leading particle *FOR*¹, this declaration is inevitably referred to what had before been specified as the objects, above which the king should exalt himself, or to which he should have no respect; namely,

¹ Heb. כִּי.

the God of gods, and the gods of his fathers, and the Desire of women, and every god: and, by the adjective ALL, it is compelled to relate to the generalising phrase EVERY god, with which the entire clause commenced. FOR, *above* ALL, that is, above ALL the deities previously enumerated and generally comprehended in the phrase EVERY god (such only, in its existing collocation, being the possible sense of that important adjective): FOR, *above* ALL, *shall he magnify himself*. If, then, *the Desire of women* be thus plainly determined, by the whole context under every aspect, to be something homogeneous with *the God of gods* and *the gods of his fathers* and *every god*: then, assuredly, *the Desire of women* must be, not only a person real or imaginary, but likewise a person who is the object of religious worship.

The abstract import of the expression being thus ascertained, we are naturally led to ask, in the concrete: What god, or what divine person, is this *Desire of women*, to whom the Roman king has no more respect, than either to the God of gods or to any imaginary god venerated by the blind superstition of his erring pagan forefathers?

Every commentator, who more or less intensely has applied the character of the Roman king to the Papacy, lays it down, as a thing of course, that *the not having respect to the desire of women* alludes to *the establishment of monachism* and to *the constrained celibacy of the clergy*. But, freely and unhesitatingly as this exposition of the

phrase has been adopted from one protestant interpreter to another, I am constrained to pronounce it utterly and altogether untenable. Such an exposition, as we have just seen, is irreconcilable with the context; which clearly requires us to understand *the Desire of women*, both as *a person*, and as *a person who is the object of religious worship*: and, since it is thus irreconcilable with the context, we shall not wonder to find it, what has hitherto been unaccountably overlooked, no less irreconcilable with the idiom of the Hebrew language so far as we can ascertain that idiom from the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

They, who interpret the phrase as relating to monastic and clerical celibacy, take for granted, that it means *the desire to have women*: but, unfortunately for this system of exposition, the phrase is incapable of bearing any such signification. According to the Hebrew idiom, *the desire of women* denotes, not *the desire to have women*, but *that which women desire to have*. Nor, I believe, can a SINGLE exception to this mode of interpreting the phrase be discovered throughout the whole of the ancient Scriptures: in NO ONE instance, unless I very greatly mistake, does the word *desire*, when constructed with a dependent genitive case, signify *a desire of possessing the thing expressed by such genitive case*¹.

¹ Thus, *the desire of Israel* does not mean *the desire to have Israel*, but *that which Israel desired to have namely Saul for*

Hence I conclude, both from the plain requirement of the context and from the invariable use of

a king. 1 Sam. ix. 20. Thus, *the desire of thy soul* does not mean *the desire to have thy soul*, but *that which thy soul desires to have.* 1 Sam. xxiii. 20. Thus, *the desire of the heart* does not mean *the desire to have the heart*, but *that which the heart desires to have.* Psalm x. 3. xxi. 2. Thus, *the desire of the wicked* does not mean *the desire to have the wicked*, but *that which the wicked desire to have.* Psalm cxii. 10. And thus, not to weary the reader with a long detail of instances, *the desire of Ezekiel's eyes* does not mean *the desire to have Ezekiel's eyes*, but *that which Ezekiel's eyes desired to have* namely *his wife.* Ezek. xxiv. 16.

In his choice of this last text to support his opinion, Mr. Mede has been peculiarly unfortunate.

It is true, that *the desire of Ezekiel's eyes* was *his wife*: but this will never prove, that *the desire of women* means *the conubial state*; rather, indeed, the reverse. Had Daniel wished to represent the Roman king as disregarding and discouraging marriage, he would not have said, *he shall have no respect to the desire of women*; because he would have known, that such a phrase in his own language conveyed quite a different idea: but, adopting Ezekiel's familiar and natural mode of expression, he would have said, *he shall not regard the desire of men's eyes.* This phrase would, indeed, have conveyed the idea, which Mr. Mede erroneously ascribes to the phrase actually used by Daniel, though we might well have marvelled at its contextual collocation in the midst of objects of divine worship: but Daniel's present phrase is *absolutely incapable* of the sense attributed to it.

Cicero's affectionate address to his wife, which Mr. Mede also adduces as parallel to the language of Daniel, *En mea lux meum desiderium*, is as little applicable to the case in point as the text from Ezekiel. *The desire of Cicero* was not *his love of himself*, but *his love of his wife.* I may add, that the true

a very common Hebrew idiom, that, by *the Desire of women*, we must understand *some person who was eminently desired by women and who is also an object of religious adoration* ¹.

Still the question remains to be answered : Who is the person, thus peculiarly, and yet thus definitely described ?

To such a question, the reply is not very difficult. The person, whom Daniel styles *the Desire of women*, is he, whom Haggai subsequently called *the Desire of all nations* ². In point of construc-

meaning of *meum desiderium* is exactly the same as that of *meæ deliciæ* : it simply denotes *my desireable object*. See Mede's Apost. of the latter times, part i. chap. 16.

¹ Induced probably by the same train of reasoning as that which I have pursued, both with respect to contextual collocation and with respect to Hebrew idiom, Abp. Secker remarks, that, in Dan. xi. 37, a deity, called *the Desire of women*, seems to be meant. Secker cited by Newcome on Haggai ii. 7. What that deity is, he does not attempt to determine : but, like myself, he plainly enough saw, that *the Desire of women* must be a *person* of some description or another, real or fictitious ; and he no less plainly perceived, that the person, thus designated, must inevitably be a *divinity*.

² Hagg. ii. 7. For the grammatical difficulty in the construction of this text, see Parkhurst's Heb. Lex. in voc. חֲמֹד § II.

Perhaps, however, the difficulty might be solved in a more simple manner by adopting the following translation of the place.

I will shake all nations ; and they shall come unto the Desire of all nations : and I will fill this house with glory : saith the Lord of hosts.

For the ellipse produced by the omission of the preposition ¹.

tion, the two phrases are strictly parallel : 'and, if that, employed by Haggai, relates to the desire and expectation of a promised Deliverer, so generally prevalent before the first advent of our Lord ; that, employed by Daniel, relates to the ardent wish, entertained by women, to become the honoured mother of the same predicted Saviour. *The Desire of women*, and *the Desire of all nations*, are equally the Messiah. To no other person is the former of these titles applicable : and, to *him*, that title, with which we are at present specially concerned, is exactly and minutely appropriate. The original annunciation of the promised Seed was delivered exclusively to Eve. It was *her* seed, not *Adam's*, that was to bruise the head of the serpent. To the advent of this Seed she impatiently looked forward : and such was her eager desire, that, upon the birth of her first child, forgetting that Cain was Adam's seed no less than her own, she joyfully exclaimed ; *I have gotten THE MAN, even Jehovah*

or לֵא, we have sufficient authority. See Jerem. xxxiv. 3. The want, therefore, of that preposition, in Hagg. ii. 7, will not render my proposed translation inadmissible.

I take the meaning of the passage to be, that the Lord will shake all nations, so that they shall come unto him, who is styled *the Desire of all nations*, as converts or proselytes to his religion : a prophecy, accomplished at the first preaching of the Gospel, and still in a course of yet more perfect accomplishment.

That the singular חִמְדָּה is the true reading, appears, as Parkhurst justly observes, from the universal consent of manuscripts.

*his very self*¹. The subsequent limitation of the promise, to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob successively, produced that vehement desire to have children, which was experienced by Sarah and Rebekah and Rachel : and the same cause alone will satisfactorily account for the excessive horror which all the Israelitish women entertained of barrenness. *Let me go up and down the mountains, and bewail my virginity* ; was the mournful language of Jephthah's daughter, when doomed by her father's rash vow to perpetual celibacy : *the Lord hath taken away my reproach among men* ; was the joyful exclamation of Rachel under the Patriarchal, and of Elisabeth under the Levitical, Dispensation : *hail thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women* ; was the salutation of the angel to her who bore the Saviour of mankind, *the Desire of all nations* indeed, but in a peculiar and mysterious sense *the Desire of women*, inasmuch as he was born by the power of the Holy Ghost from a pure virgin².

¹ Gen. iv. 1. See my *Horæ Mosaicæ*. book ii. sect. 1. chap. 2. § I. second edit.

² See Dr. Alix's *Remarks on Scripture*. The author satisfactorily proves, that it was the studied design of the Almighty, by so frequently preferring the younger brother before the elder, to keep alive the expectation of the world respecting the Desire of all nations or (as I conceive Daniel to term the same divine personage) the Desire of women. From this expectation he deduces, as I have done after him, the violent desire which all the Hebrew women felt to have children : and, upon the same

It is foretold, then, in the proposition immediately before us, that the Roman king, while he should speak marvellous things against the God of gods and should nevertheless disregard the false deities of his pagan ancestors, should likewise have no respect unto him who was eminently the Desire of women, but that he should treat the divine Messiah with studied and systematic indignity.

This prediction was exactly accomplished by the Roman king during the period which is now under consideration.

The favourite watchword of that diabolical conspiracy of atheists and infidels and anarchists, which spread itself through all Europe and which mainly produced the French Revolution, was CRUSH THE WRETCH. By this term, the Satanic monsters designated the Saviour of mankind: for, against the Messiah, their impious rage was specially directed.

principle, he accounts for the premeditated incest of the daughters of Lot, who was of the family of the Hebrews and of the line of Shem.

Mr. Dimock comes so *very* near the right interpretation of the phrase before us, that it is a matter of wonder to me how he could have missed it. He proposes an alteration of the text; and, instead of נשים *women*, he would read גוים *nations*: so that, by the *Desire of nations*, might be meant *Christ*. Finding, however, that his proposed alteration is unsupported by any authority, he does not venture to insist upon it, but allows that the present reading is capable of good sense. See Wintle's Trans. of Dan. in loc.

Jesus Christ is an impostor. It is not the lot of arms to destroy THE WRETCH : he will perish by the force of truth. From government must the final sentence issue, which shall CRUSH THE WRETCH. We hope, that philosophy, which in France is near the throne, will soon be on it¹. I am weary of hearing people repeat, that twelve men have been sufficient to establish Christianity : I will prove, that one may suffice to overthrow it. The monster must fall, pierced by a thousand invisible hands. I would tolerate the Socinians, because Julian would have favoured them : for I hate what Julian would have hated, and I despise what Julian would have despised. England and Switzerland are overrun with men, who hate and despise Christianity, as Julian hated and despised it. From Geneva to Berne, not a Christian is to be found.

Such, as appears from their correspondence, was the anticipatory language of Voltaire and his banded associates throughout Europe, previous to the commencement of their first practical experiment the French Revolution : and their success, in this crusade against the Messiah, most abundantly appears from the testimony of one who will not be suspected of too strenuous a zeal for the honour of the Son of God.

No alteration of the text is at all necessary to make the phrase expressive of our Lord's character.

An allusion, probably, to the Duke of Orleans.

When I was myself in France in the year 1774, says Dr. Priestley, I saw sufficient reason to believe, that hardly a person of eminence in Church or State, and, especially in the least degree eminent in philosophy or literature (whose opinions are, in all countries, sooner or later adopted by others), were believers in Christianity: and no person will suppose, that there has been any change in favour of Christianity during the last twenty years. One of the best informed men in the country assured me very gravely, that (paying me a compliment) I was the first person he had ever met with, of whose understanding he had any opinion, that pretended to believe Christianity. To this all the company assented. And not only were the philosophers and other leading men in France, at that time, unbelievers in Christianity or Deists; but they were even Atheists, denying the being of a God.

How these principles were acted upon when the French Revolution broke out, needs scarcely to be specified: the matter is still fresh in the memory of many thousands. Every church was shut up by a formal decree of the Convention: every outward sign of Christianity was abolished. The religion of the Messiah was proclaimed to be a golden calf: and, with the mockery of a profane allusion to Scripture, the legislators were exhorted to descend like Moses from the mountain and to break it in

pieces, that so the ark' of the constitution might be the only idol of the French ¹.

Thus, exalting himself above EVERY god whether true or false, 'the Roman king has spoken marvellous things against the God of gods, has disregarded the gods of his heathen forefathers, and has had no respect unto the Desire of women : for, above ALL divinities, has he magnified himself.

(2.) *Yet, although the Roman king avows himself to be an infidel and an atheist ; still, contradictory as the thing may seem, he has a god of his own, described as being a god unknown to his fathers, whom he honours with much apparent zeal and devotion.*

This singular prophetic paradox, wholly unintelligible before the event, has been fully explained by the principles taught in the antichristian mysteries, and has been at length openly developed in practice by the conduct of revolutionary France.

The god, set up to be worshipped by the Roman king in opposition both to Jehovah and to the false gods of ancient Italy, is Human Reason, as contradistinguished from all asserted revelation whether real or pretended. This foreign god was unknown to his fathers both pagan and christian : but the worship of the new divinity was strenuously advocated through the entire domain of the Roman

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Kett's Hist. the Interp. of Prophecy, for most of the facts here stated, though I cannot assent to his application of them.

Empire, and was even literally set up by the legislators of its principal constituent member. But the Human Reason of Antichrist is, virtually and in effect, Antichrist himself. Hence, however they might err as to his specific character, the Fathers rightly believed, that Antichrist would cause himself to be adored, in the place of, and in avowed opposition to, Christ¹: and hence Bishop Horsley well described the apparent monster, as soaring, with a bold flight of impiety, far above his precursors and types in the times of Paganism, the Sennacheribs, the Nebuchadnezzars, the Antiochuses, and the Heathen Emperors; as consecrating an image of himself; and as claiming divine honours to himself exclusively².

REASON, says the hierophant of those Illuminati, who planned and accomplished the mischief which for a quarter of a century spread misery and desolation throughout the Roman Empire: REASON *shall be the only book of laws, the sole code of man. This is one of our great mysteries. Man is wicked; because religion, the State, and bad example, pervert him. Let REASON, at length, be the religion of man; and the problem is solved.*

¹ Transferet regnum in terrenam Hierusalem, et in templo Dei sedebit, seducens eos qui adorant eum, quasi ipse sit Christus. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 21. § 4. Adversum Deum deorum loquatur magnifica, ita ut sedeat in templo Dei, et seipsum faciat Deum. Hieron. Comment. in Dan. xi. 36. Tunc impius se coli jubebit, ut Deum. Se enim dicet esse Deum, cum sit Antichristus. Lactant. Divin. Instit. Epit. § 11.

² Letter on Isaiah xviii. p. 106.

During the first age, men enjoyed the two inestimable blessings, Equality and Liberty: they enjoyed them to their utmost extent. As families multiplied, the means of subsistence began to fail: the nomade life ceased: and property started into existence. Hence Liberty was ruined in its foundation, and Equality disappeared. Men then had passed, from their peaceable state, to the yoke of servitude: Eden, "that terrestrial Paradise, was lost to them. The secret schools of philosophy, which have been in all ages the archives of nature and of the rights of man, shall one day retrieve the fall of human nature: and princes and nations shall disappear from the face of the earth.

Let us now mark the completion of these projects, which were carried on through the medium of secret societies, particularly that of the corrupted Free-Masonry of the continent.

Till the 12th of August 1792, says an eyewitness of what he details, the French Jacobins had dated the annals of their Revolution only by the years of their pretended Liberty. On that day, when the king was carried prisoner to the temple after having been declared to have forfeited his right to the crown, the rebel Assembly decreed, that, to the date of Liberty, the date of Equality should be added in future to all public acts: and the decree itself was dated, the fourth year of Liberty, the first year and day of Equality. It was on that day, for the first

time, that the secret of Free-Masonry was made public. At the reading of this famous decree, they exclaimed: We have, at length, succeeded; and France is no other than an immense Lodge. The whole French people are Free-Masons: and the whole Universe will soon follow their example. I witnessed this enthusiasm. I heard the conversations, to which it gave rise. I saw Masons, till then reserved, who freely and openly declared: Yes, at length, the grand object of Free-Masonry is accomplished, Liberty and Equality! All men are equal: all men are free. That was the whole substance of our doctrine, the object of our wishes, the whole of our grand secret¹.

Such preliminaries will account for the extraordinary scenes, which followed.

On the 11th of November 1793, a grand festival, dedicated to REASON and TRUTH, was celebrated in the late cathedral of Paris. In the middle of this church was erected a mount; and, on it, a very plain temple: the front of which bore the following inscription; TO PHILOSOPHY. Before the gate of this temple, were placed the busts of the most celebrated philosophers. The torch of TRUTH was on the summit of the mount, upon the altar of REASON, spreading light. The Convention and all the constituted authorities assisted at the ceremony.

¹ Barruel's Mem. of Jacobin. cited in Hist. the Interp. of Proph. vol. ii. p. 206, 207.

On the same day, a woman of infamous character was employed by these enemies of Christ to personate a deity whom they styled THE GODDESS OF REASON; an abstraction, 'by which they meant HUMAN REASON' AS OPPOSED TO DIVINE REVELATION: and this strumpet, the representative of the foreign deity unknown to the less daring fathers of the Roman king, literally received from Revolutionary France that worship which was denied to the God of gods and to the Desire of women¹.

The purport of such antichristian rites is abundantly explained by the impure mystæ themselves, who introduced and celebrated them.

It has been declared by the people of Paris, that they recognise no other worship than that of REASON and TRUTH. The citizen and the legislator ought to acknowledge no other worship than that of Liberty, no other altars than those of their country, no other priests than the magistrates of the Republic. Let the will of those sections be peculiarly respected; which have renounced all religious worship, except that of REASON and LIBERTY and THE REPUBLICAN VIRTUES.

I may add, that, in the very same month as that

¹ This new idolatry was not confined to the metropolis: it was carefully and ostentatiously repeated in the provinces. *The installation of the goddess of Reason*, says Sir Walter Scott, *was renewed and imitated throughout the nation, in such places where the inhabitants desired to shew themselves equal to all the heights of the Revolution.* Life of Napol. Buonap. vol. ii. p. 306.

in which HUMAN REASON personified by a strumpet was publicly adored by Revolutionary France, the orator of the section of Unité declared before the Convention, in the name of his brother republicans, that they swore to acknowledge no other worship than that of REASON, no other duty than Liberty, no other priests than the Magistrates. Yes, exclaimed voices from every part of the hall, *we take the same oath* ¹.

Thus have events explained an otherwise inexplicable prophetic paradox. In the abstract, it seems a palpable contradiction, that a Power, described as alike disregarding *every* god whether true or false, should nevertheless be represented as venerating a foreign god unknown to the ancestors of those who constituted that Power : yet such has been precisely the conduct of the Roman king, as

¹ The monster Robespierre did indeed afterward, through the medium of a festival *approaching as near to Paganism as could well be accomplished*, exhibit the Republic of France as acknowledging the existence of a Supreme Being, in the precise form, says Sir Walter Scott, in which the grand nation might have recognised the government of a cöordinate State. But, as the same author justly remarks, *his acknowledgment of a Divinity was, it seems, limited to a mere admission in point of fact ; and involved no worship of the great Being, whose existence he at length condescended to own. I will appeal*, adds the historian, *not to a sincere Christian, but to any philosopher forming such ideas of the nature of the Deity as even mere unassisted reason can attain to, whether there does not appear more impiety in Robespierre's mode of acknowledging the Divinity, than in Hebert's horrible avowal of direct Atheism.* Life of Napol. Buonap. vol. ii. p. 322—325.

exemplified most eminently in the conduct of his principal member Revolutionary France. Had the king adored his foreign god really believing in the divinity of that god, as the old idolaters devoutly believed in the actual deity of their hero-gods; he would not have fulfilled the prophecy: because it declares, that the king should not regard ANY god, but that he should magnify himself above ALL. Yet, if he had not adored a god unknown to his fathers in *some* manner, whatever that manner might be; he would equally have failed in accomplishing the prophecy: because it declares, that he *should* worship a god thus described. What, then, has been the conduct of the Roman king? With an open profession of atheism in his mouth, and with a direct attack upon *all* religion in his practice, he has adored a foreign deity unknown to his fathers, whom he nevertheless disbelieved to be a deity: and he has thus worshipped a god of his own, without regarding *any* god.

(3.) *Together with this foreign god, Human Reason as opposed to Divine Revelation, the Roman king honours strong military protectors in his office, decorating them with gold and silver and precious stones and desirable things.*

In a former part of the prophecy, it was said of Séleucus-Philopator, that he should stand up *in his office* after the death of his father¹: here we are told, that the Roman king will honour strong mili-

¹ Dan. xi. 21.

tary protectors *in his office*. The original word is precisely the same in each passage¹. Hence, in each, it must be understood in the same sense. Now it is plainly applied to Seleucus, in relation to his succeeding his father in the sovereignty. It must be applied, therefore, to the Roman king, in relation to the succession of some supreme form of civil polity, within the Roman Empire, to some other supreme form of civil polity, which had been in previous existence but which now became extinct. The prophecy, consequently, tells us, that, when this political change shall take place, the Roman Empire, now passing under another form of civil dominance, shall honour, together with deified Human Reason, certain characters denominated *Mahuzzim* or *strong military protectors*.

For the right understanding of the present clause, it will be necessary to call in the aid of the Apocalypse.

When St. John beheld the monstrous symbol of the Roman Empire under the aspect of a ten-horned wild-beast, he observed, that, in its peculiar conformation, it bore seven distinct heads. These, as he learned from the interpreting angel, represented seven successive kings or seven successive modes of supreme civil polity: for the Hebrews, as it is well known, use, in their idiom (which is the adopted idiom of the New Testament), *King* for *Kingdom*, and *Kingdom* for *any Government or*

¹ Heb. על כנו.

Polity no matter what may be its precise modification¹. The six first heads, as we shall hereafter find, were the Imperial-Kingship or Kingly-Emperorship, the Consulate, the Dictatorship, the Decemvirate, the Military-Tribuneship, and the Triumvirate : and, as these various heads appeared or reappeared upon the wild-beast, the first of them, after the final downfall of the others, was that which actually existed at the time when St. John beheld the visions of the Apocalypse². To this head, which then actually existed and which still continued to exist down to the year 1806 when at length it was finally extinguished, was destined to succeed, as we learn from the Apostle, yet a seventh head : the peculiar characteristics of which are, that *it should be short-lived, that it should be wounded to death by the sword of foreign violence, and that after some indefinite time it should revive and should be the dominant polity of the Roman wild-beast when he ultimately goes into perdition*³. The regular discussion of the oracle, respecting the seventh head, will be undertaken, in its proper place, hereafter⁴ : at present, I shall only say, that the seventh form of dominant polity within the Roman Empire, which sprang up when the ancient Roman Kingship or Emperorship fell in the year 1806, was the Francic Emperorship erected by Napoleon Buonapartè. To the rise of this

¹ See Mede's Apost. of the latter times, part i. chap. 16.

² Rev. xvii. 10.

³ Rev. xiii. 3, 12, 14. xvii. 9—11.

⁴ See below book v. chap. 4. § III. 3. (7.) 4, 5.

seventh head, the clause of Daniel's prophecy now under consideration, unless I labour altogether under a mistake, specially refers. The Roman king honours strong military protectors in his office : that is to say, he honours strong military protectors, when the seventh and last supreme form of Roman polity succeeds to those six anterior supreme forms, which, at this chronological point of the prophecy, had now universally fallen.

By the rise of the seventh head, the wilful Roman king was brought into full action. Hitherto, he had mainly operated through the instrumentality of his Francic horn : but, henceforth, the Francic Empire is no other than the Roman Empire itself under its seventh predicted form of supreme civil polity. In this capacity, or in this his new successive office, the Roman king, we are told, honours, together with his foreign god, strong military protectors, decorating them with gold and silver and precious stones and desireable things.

Under the rule of Napoleon, Popery was nominally restored. But the restoration was merely political. Human Reason was still the divinity really worshipped : and the infidelity and irreligion of the ten-horned wild-beast was still paramount ; though he once more, as will be the case in the day of his final dissolution, became the ostensible ally of his ancient colleague the false prophet or the ecclesiastical two-horned wild-beast ¹.

¹ Rev. xiii. 11—18. xix. 17—21. We certainly, says Sir Walter Scott, do Napoleon no injustice in supposing, that per-

With the foreign divinity, the Roman Empire, now under its seventh head, preëminently honoured strong military protectors. France, while republican, had become a gréat military Power: but, when imperial, it obtained, by a series of most extraordinary victories and conquests, what may well be deemed an almost unexampled aggrandisement. Nor were its wars conducted after the ordinary mode of civilised nations. They were specially and systematically wars of plunder and devastation. At the expence of the wretched subjugated countries, they were invariably conducted. The Roman king, by a well organised plan of rapine, honoured his strong military protectors with the spoils of continents¹ Europe.

To this interpretation of what in the original are denominated *Mahuzzim*, I am led, both by the series of events themselves, by the concluding section of the prophecy which so unequivocally represents the wilful Roman king as a mighty military power¹, and by the next clause of the present section which shall now be taken into special consideration.

(4.) *The Roman king multiplies glory to the*

sonally he had little or no influential sense of religion. Some obscure yet rooted doctrines of fatality seem, so far as we can judge, to have formed the extent of his metaphysical creed. We can scarce term him even a deist: and he was an absolute stranger to every modification of Christian belief and worship. But he saw and valued the use of a national religion as an engine of state policy. Life of Napol. vol. iv. p. 305.

¹ See Dan. xi, 40—45.

restrainers of the strong military protectors, and causes them to rule over many; and divides the land among them by barter.

In the last clause, we heard of certain strong military protectors, whom the Roman king, in his new successive office, delighted to honour: in the present clause, some other persons are introduced, who are said to be the restrainers or coercers of these strong military protectors. If, then, the strong military protectors denote a large and powerful and favoured and privileged army; their restrainers or coercers will obviously be the generals or captains or leading chiefs of the army in question¹. The prophecy, therefore, announces, that, to individuals of this description, the Roman kingdom, now acting under its seventh or last head, should multiply glory; causing them to rule over many, and dividing the land among them by barter or exchange².

We have here, in its strictly proper chronological situation, an accurate statement of the system which has been notoriously adopted by the military represen-

¹ It is a circumstance, somewhat curious and not unworthy of note, that Homer expressly describes Hector, in what I suppose to be the very phraseology of Daniel, *coercing* or *restraining* the troops of the Trojans in his capacity of general.

Ὡς ἔφαθ'· Ἐκτωρ δ' αὖτ' ἐχάρη μέγα, μῦθον ἀκούσας·

Καὶ ῥ', ἐς μέσσον ἰὼν, Τρώων ἄνεεπτε φάλαγγας,

Iliad. lib. iii. ver. 74, 75.

² Jerome's view of this clause is substantially accurate. Antichristus terram suo exercitui dividet. Comment. in loc.

tative of the last predicted form of Roman polity. France, after running the giddy round of insane democracy, settled at length into an absolute despotism. The chief captain of the strong protectors became her sovereign : and, having revived, under a new head, the Empire of the West, he thus, by the powerful aid of troops drawn from every region of the wilful kingdom, multiplied glory to himself, and eminently ruled over many. But this was not to be the exclusive characteristic of the *chief* captain : the *other* captains or restrainers, for the word is plural, were to share in the aggrandisement of their miliatry superior. Accordingly, in the erection of the new feudal Empire, the several principal officers of the successful adventurer had each a sovereignty assigned to him. Some became kings ; some, dukes ; and some, princes. But they still retained their connection with their chief : they still were not independent monarchs, but feudatory members of the Franco-Roman Empire. The mode of effecting this, we are told, was by a division of the land among them : and the land was so divided by barter or trucking or exchange. No words can more accurately describe the process, by which the various feudatory States of the new Empire were established. That artful political system of chopping and changing and dividing and curtailing and augmenting and rounding off, denominated *the system of indemnities* ; by which the old ties of nationality were severed, by which every patriotic

feeling of public spirit was destroyed, and by which all western Europe was parcelled out into provinces subservient to the avowed head of the entire Empire while his new princes were shifted about from one throne to another as might best accord with his views of widely grasping ambition: that precise political system, which had been so graphically set forth by the voice of prophecy, as a causing the restrainers of the strong military protectors to rule over many by dividing the land among them through the medium of barter or trucking or exchange, was the identical system adopted by the Franco-Roman Emperor in carving out vassal principalities for his chief and most faithful officers.

(5.) *The Roman king, during this fourth period marked out by Daniel, prospers, until his angry defiance is finished.*

This clause occurs in the middle of the prophecy: but I have chosen to reserve it for our final consideration.

When such strange and well nigh incredible deeds of impiety are ascribed to the Roman king during the continuance of Daniel's fourth period, it is natural for the anxious reader of Holy Scripture to inquire, how long shall this daring monster of wickedness be permitted to prosper?

In the present clause, an answer is furnished to the question with as much definiteness as seemed good to the all-wise Spirit of revelation.

The Roman king, whatever partial checks he

may experience, prospers, until his angry defiance of the living God is finished¹.

Such a declaration does not specify a precise time in days or in months or in years: but, for the comfort of the Church, it clearly enough intimates, that a certain limit is fixed to his tyrannical malignity. His impiety, we are told, shall be allowed to vent itself to the full: his angry defiance shall meet with no lasting or effectual check in its progress; but it shall be permitted to complete itself to the uttermost. Yet the very turn of the clause plainly implies, that his prosperity will not be for ever uninterrupted. He is to prosper, until his angry defiance shall be finished. Prosperity is *promised* to him during the course of his defiance: and prosperity, for any thing that is said to the contrary, *may* attend upon him for some short time after his defiance shall have been completed. But the construction of the clause certainly seems to import, that the days of his prosperity are numbered, and that the tide will turn against him not

¹ It is not unworthy of note, that the same word **עָרַב** is used by Daniel to express, both *the angry defiance* of the holy covenant on the part of Antiochus-Epiphanes, and *the angry defiance* of the God of gods on the part of the Roman king. Compare Dan. xi. 30, 36. This studied identity of expression serves to shew, that *the angry defiance* on the part of the Roman king was to be homogeneous with *the angry defiance* on the part of Antiochus-Epiphanes. Each was to be an act of daring impiety and irreligion.

very long after the permitted completion of his angry defiance.

Accordingly, what is thus insinuated by the particular turn of the clause is required by the general context of the prophecy.

We may observe a chronological break, between the atheistical exploits of the Roman king on the one hand, and between his final war with the kings of the South and the North on the other hand. There is a manifest chasm or hiatus in the joint course of those two successive periods, which are commensurate with the latter part of the history of the Roman king : an hiatus of quiescence, because nothing specially deserving of prophetic notice is performed ; but not an hiatus of annihilation, because the Roman king again appears conspicuously on the stage when he is attacked by the kings of the South and the North¹.

Hence we may collect, that the marked and triumphant prosperity of the Roman king ceases, when this chronological break commences : and hence we may learn, that, having now finished his defiance of the God of gods and of the Desire of women, he shortly experiences some striking reverse, and is compelled to a reluctant quiescence until a new movement on his part produces a joint attack upon him from two then contemporaneous sovereigns.

Now we may justly reckon the defiance of the

Roman king to have been finished, when Christianity, in however corrupt a form, was finally and authoritatively restored: for, as the defiance in question was a defiance of the God of gods and the Desire of women, the defiance was finished when Jehovah and his Christ ceased to be publicly and nationally defied. Individual unbelief, or the spirit of the Antichrist, might prevail as widely as ever: but prophecy, for the most part, respects the deeds, not of individuals, but of kingdoms. Hence, as the public and national establishment of Infidelity chiefly constituted the angry defiance of the Roman king: so the public and national establishment of Christianity will mark the termination of his angry defiance.

At the latter end of the year 1799, Napoleon Buonapartè, upon his accession to power, became the instrument of restoring to France the free exercise of the Christian faith. By general consent, the mummary of Reveilliere Lepeux's heathenism was abandoned. The churches were opened for public worship: pensions were allowed to such religious persons as took an oath of fidelity to the government: and more than twenty thousand clergymen, with whom in consequence of intolerant laws the prisons had been filled, were liberated upon the same condition. Public and domestic rites of worship in every form were tolerated and protected: and the law of the decades or theophilanthropic festivals was abolished¹.

¹ See Scott's *Life of Napol. Buonap.* vol. iv. p. 196, 197.

But still Christianity was not reëstablished in any such formal and national manner, as definitely to mark the prophetic completion of the angry defiance. Some public act was waiting, by which the defiance should be made as distinctly to terminate as it had openly commenced. This act was furnished by Napoleon's remarkable Concordat with the See of Rome. The objects, to be attained by it, were, the sanction of the First Consul's government by the sovereign Pontiff on the one hand, and, on the other, the reëstablishment of the rights of the Church in France, so far as they should be found consistent with the new order of things. This important treaty was managed by Joseph Buonapartè; who, with three colleagues, held conferences for that purpose with the plenipotentiaries of the Pope: the ratifications were exchanged on the 18th of September in the year 1801: and by the first article it was provided, that the catholic religion should be freely exercised in France, that it should be acknowledged as the national faith, and that its service should be openly practised subject to such regulations of police as the French government should judge necessary ¹.

At the epoch, then, of the Concordat, we may reasonably place the termination of the Roman king's angry defiance. He is to prosper, until his defiance is finished: but, after his defiance has been

¹ See Scott's Life of Napol. Buonap. vol. iv. p. 338, 339.

finished, he may ere long expect to taste the cup of humiliation and adversity.

Accordingly, his prosperity continued but a short time after the completion, of his angry defiance. In the year 1808, the tide turned against him. Spain had the glory of making the first effectual continental resistance: and, notwithstanding some partial gleams of good fortune, the current ceased not to set strongly against him, until at length by the fatal battle of Waterloo he was reduced to a state of humiliating quiescence¹.

At this time, if we arrange prophecy synchronically with prophecy, the short-lived seventh head of the apocalyptic Roman wild-beast was mortally wounded by the sword of foreign violence: and the wild-beast himself, all his seven heads being now extinct, sank into that condition of political non-entity as a collective federal Empire, which the interpreting angel describes by the phrase of *his ceasing to be* or *his non-existence*. But the same short-lived head, which was mortally wounded by the sword, is destined, we are told, to revive: and, through this predicted revival, the wild-beast, which

¹ Buonapartè himself reckoned his downfall from his alike unprincipled and impolitic attempt to appropriate Spain. *That wretched war*, said he of the Spanish contest in the bitterness of his soul: *That wretched war was my ruin. It divided my forces; multiplied the necessity of my efforts; and injured my character for morality.* Scott's Life of Napol. Buonap. vol. vi. p. 125. We may doubt, whether it *very* seriously injured the imperial moral character.

was not or had ceased to exist politically as an Empire, hereafter *shall be* or shall once more recover the political existence of which he had been deprived ¹.

The precise day of this revival of the short-lived seventh head is not specified either by Daniel or by St. John : but they fully agree, in regard to the activity of the Roman wild-beast, when, by the healing of his deadly wound, he shall have been restored to his lost political existence. Each announces a remarkable expedition, which he shall then undertake : each places this expedition at the same chronological epoch : and each describes it, as terminating in the irremediable destruction of the adventurous undertaker and his vassal associates ².

5. We now come to the fifth of those periods, into which Daniel's interpreting angel divides the anticipated history of the Roman Empire subsequent to the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus.

And, at the time of the end, the king of the South shall butt at him : and the king of the North shall tempestuously come against him, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships. Yet he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow, and shall pass over, and shall enter into the glorious land ; and many countries shall be overthrown : but these shall escape out of his

¹ Rev. xiii. 3, 12, 14. xvii. 8, 10. See below book v. chap. 4. § III. 3. 4.

² Compare Dan. xi. 40—45, with Rev. xvi. 13—16. xvii. 14. xix. 11—21.

hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries : and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt : and the Lubim and the Cushim shall be at his steps. Yet tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him : therefore he shall go forth, with great fury, to destroy, and to devote many to utter destruction. And he shall plant the curtains of his pavilions between the two seas in the glorious holy mountain. Yet he shall come to his end ; and none shall help him. And, at that time, shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth up for the children of thy people : and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time : and, at that time, thy people shall be delivered ; every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them, that sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake : some, to everlasting life ; and some, to shame and everlasting contempt¹.

This fifth period, as the prophecy itself declares, commences at the time of the end or at the close of the latter three times and a half : and it comprehends the final war and destruction of the Roman king, by whose previous exploits the fourth period was characterised. Consequently, the whole of the

¹ Dan. xi. 40—45. xii. 1, 2.

fourth period, which commenced in the year 1697, must have evolved *before* the time of the end or *before* the close of the latter three times and a half. The fifth period, then, 'commencing' at the time of the end, must, if my arrangement of the latter three times and a half be accurate, commence in the yet future year 1864. Hence, as indeed is sufficiently manifest from their very nature and complexion, all the events, ascribed to the fifth period, must be future also.

Such being the case, we can say nothing beyond what the prophecy itself declares : but, in its great outlines at least, that prophecy is, even now, abundantly distinct and unambiguous. From an attentive consideration of the divine oracles, the early Fathers generally maintained, that Palestine is the stage, on which Antichrist, in the height of his impiety, is doomed finally to perish¹: and I see not, what other conclusion can be reasonably drawn from the eminent prediction now before us.

It appears, that, in the course of the short period denominated *the time of the end*, the Roman Empire, under its seventh head now healed of the deadly wound which it had received from the sword of foreign violence, will undertake some extraordinary expedition into Palestine. In this undertaking, it will be opposed by the kings of the South and the North or by the then existing sovereigns of Egypt and Syria : and, after experiencing the

¹ See Hieron. Comment. in Dan. xi. 40—45.

several vicissitudes detailed with great minuteness in the prophecy, it will at length be irretrievably broken, in power and subsistence, between those two seas of Palestine, which Jerome and the early Fathers rightly and reasonably pronounce to be the dead sea on the east and the mediterranean sea on the west¹. Synchronically with the fall of Antichrist, at the close of the latter three times and a half, the people of Daniel or the children of Israel will be delivered from the hand of their enemies and will be restored to their own country, the season of their dispersion having now been fully accomplished with the expiration of the times of the Gentiles². And then, at the end of the time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation, the Roman Antichrist being overthrown and the holy people being converted and restored, will commence, as light out of darkness, a long season of spiritual blessedness and tranquillity³.

IV. These several matters are, I think, distinctly announced in the prophecy: and perhaps some additional information may be gathered by establishing a series of mutual correspondences between the present oracle and other parts of Holy Writ. At all events, the establishment of such correspondences will be useful, as exhibiting the relation of prophecy to prophecy, and as thence shewing us what predictions treat of the same set of events.

¹ See Hieron. Comment. in Dan. xi. 44, 45.

² Dan. xii. 1, 7. Luke xxi. 24.

³ Dan. xii. 12.

1. The period, during which the last expedition of the Roman king takes place, commences with the time of the end or with the expiration of the latter three times and a half.

But, with the expiration of the same latter three times and a half, the seventh vial of the Apocalypse begins to flow ¹.

Therefore Daniel's fifth period, during which the last expedition of the Roman king takes place, synchronises with the contents of the seventh apocalyptic vial ².

2. This synchronism being established, it will follow, that the expedition of the Roman king to Palestine is the same as the final war of the Roman wild-beast now once more under the influence of his revived seventh head, and that the Hebrew Armageddon in the Apocalypse is the Hebrew region between the two seas of Palestine where in Daniel's prophecy the Roman king is destined to perish ³. For, since, in each prediction, the actors are the same, the time is the same, the country is the same, and the result is the same: we cannot but conclude, that the self-same matters form the subject of each prediction alike.

3. Hence also it will follow, that the tempestuous attack of the king of the North, which is literally announced in the prophecy of Daniel, is

¹ See above book ii. chap. 4. § II. 2.

² Dan. xi. 40—45. xii. 1, 2. with Rev. xvi. 17—21. xvii. 11, 14. xviii. xix.

³ Dan. xi. 40—45. with Rev. xix. 11—21.

the same event, as that tremendous storm of northern hail, which, in the phraseology of hieroglyphics, is said by St. John to fall upon men out of heaven during the effusion of the last vial ¹.

4. Hence again it will follow, that the standing up of Michael the great prince and the chief of the celestial armies, on behalf of the children of Daniel's people and in opposition to the wilful Roman tyrant, is the same, as the figurative manifestation of the Word of God, at the head of the armies which are in heaven, to the battle of that great day of God Almighty, and for the destruction of the Roman beast and the false prophet and the Latin kings ².

5. Hence, moreover, it will follow, that the deliverance and restoration of Daniel's people after the accomplishment of their long dispersion is the same, as the allegorical marriage of the Lamb to his long repudiated consort, when now, at the close of the latter three times and a half and during the effusion of the seventh apocalyptic vial, she has made herself ready for her espousals ³.

6. Hence, lastly, it will follow, that the synchronical resurrection of those who sleep in the dust of the earth, when they shall awake some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt, is the same, partly as the figurative resurrection of the saints at the commencement of the

¹ Dan. xi. 40. with Rev. xvi. 21.

² Dan. xii. 1. with Rev. xix. 11—16.

³ Dan. xii. 1, 7. with Rev. xix. 7—9.

Millennium, and partly as the figurative resurrection of the impious in the day of Gog and Magog when the thousand years shall have expired: for the chronology of Daniel's vision forbids the supposition, that he speaks of a literal resurrection from the dead¹.

7. The correspondences, hitherto considered, affect the prophecies of Daniel and St. John: we have now to notice a correspondence, which occurs only between different parts of the same prophecy of Daniel.

Modern commentators, beginning with the excellent Joseph Mede, have often speculated as to the characters of those two kings of the South and the North, who, during the time of the end, are engaged in opposing the final expedition of the Roman king into Palestine: and they have invariably, so far as I know, applied their characters to *any* two kings of *the North generally* and *the South generally*, whose actions might seem best to agree with the specific line of interpretation which they have been led to adopt.

But such an arbitrary mode of application is inconsistent with the context or tenor of the entire prophecy. Through all the middle part of the vision, which comprehends no less than one half of its whole length, the kings of the South and the North, whose titles are mentioned again and again by the interpreting angel, are confessedly and un-

¹ Dan. xii. 2. with Rev. xx. 4, 5.

'doubtedly the kings of Egypt and Syria ¹. In the latter part of the same vision, we still hear of the kings of the South and the North : and not the slightest hint is given, that any other Powers, than those already mentioned under such appellations, are intended by the two Powers thus designated ². Hence I think it manifest ; and I feel assured, that any plain unprejudiced reader, who peruses the entire vision from end to end, will equally think it manifest : hence I think it manifest, that the kings of the South and the North, who appear toward the close of the vision, are still the kings of the same South and North who appeared through all the middle part of the vision ; in other words, unless we unhinge and dislocate the whole harmony and homogeneity of the vision for the purpose of making the prophecy speak just what we please, they must inevitably be the kings of Egypt and Syria.

Yet, while, on every principle of consistency in composition, the two kingdoms of Egypt and Syria must be intended, throughout the whole vision, by the two kings of the South and the North ; we know, from the testimony of history, that those kingdoms have long ceased to be governed by Greek princes. Hence, as they are mentioned toward the close of the vision synchronically with the yet future restoration of Judah, though they must *still* be the two kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, they will be

¹ Dan. xi. 5—30.

² Dan. xi. 40.

those two kingdoms as administered by their *then* existing governors ¹.

This, I apprehend, is abundantly manifest from the very necessity of the prophecy itself. The Roman king will be opposed, in his expedition to Palestine, by the two then existing sovereigns of Syria and Egypt: for these only, in the vision, are recognised as the two kings of the North and the South. But, in regard to the circumstance of who *will be the sovereigns of Egypt and Syria at the close of the latter three times and a half*, the event alone can determine such a question ².

¹ According to Bishop Newton, *The kings of the South and the North are to be taken and explained according to the times of which the prophet is speaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were subsisting, so long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the South and the North: but, when those kingdoms were swallowed up in the Roman Empire, then other Powers became the kings of the South and the North.* Dissert. on the Proph. dissert. xvii. vol. ii. p. 169, 170.

Now surely this summary decision of the learned Prelate is altogether gratuitous and arbitrary. The *dynasties*, which rule in the two kingdoms of the South and the North, may indeed change, as in fact we know them to have changed, during the evolution of the prophecy: and it is quite certain, that the lines of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies no longer exist. But, though the ruling *dynasties* may change, the prophecy gives not the Bishop the slightest authority for asserting that the *kingdoms* themselves may change also. From beginning to end, the two kingdoms of the South and the North, however and by whomsoever they may be governed, are still the two kingdoms of Egypt and Syria.

² Some modern writers (myself, at one period, among the

8. The deliverance and restoration of Daniel's people being synchronically and locally connected with the final overthrow of the Roman king in Palestine, whenever the restoration of Judah is in prophecy synchronically and locally connected with an overthrow of some vast confederacy of God's enemies, the overthrow of that confederacy must inevitably be the same as the final overthrow of the

number) have supposed most unskilfully ; on the generalising principle of mutation adopted by Mede and Newton, that the mighty northern Empire of Russia, simply because it is a great *northern* Empire, will be that king of the North, who, at the time of the end, combats with the wilful Roman king.

Certainly I will not venture to say, that, at that epoch, Russia *cannot* be the king of the North : because I know not, whether Russia, at that epoch, may not have become possessed of Syria. But *this* I will assuredly say, that, *at no time*, can Russia, simply as Russia and *merely* because Russia is a great *northern* Power, be the king of the North who appears in Daniel's vision. Should Russia, at the time of the end, have acquired Syria by conquest or negociation ; then, doubtless, *under the aspect of the existing sovereign of Syria*, Russia will have become the prophetic king of the North : but this character would then belong to Russia, not as a mighty Slavonic northern Power, but solely and exclusively as the sovereign of Syria. *At present*, whatever may *hereafter* be the case, Russia, in the phraseology of the prophecy, is *not* the king of the north.

As for the Power, which, at the time of the end, may be the sovereign of Egypt, it were vain even to conjecture. But, clearly, whatever Power shall then be master of Egypt, whether a native Power in the character of an independent Pacha or a foreign Power whose seat of government is in another country, that Power, *in its quality of the Lord of Egypt*, will be the prophetic king of the South.

Roman king and his congregated vassals between the two seas of Palestine.

This principle requires us to admit, that the parallel prophecies of Daniel and St. John, which treat of the final overthrow of the Roman king or the Roman wild-beast under his revived seventh head, correspond with the several prophecies of Isaiah and Joel and Micah and Zechariah which foretell the destruction of a vast confederacy in the land of Israel. For, since Daniel locally and synchronically connects the restoration of Judah with the overthrow of the Roman kingdom alike predicted by himself and St. John, and since all those other prophets similarly connect the restoration of Judah with an overthrow of some great and impious confederacy; the mutual correspondence and relation of the several predictions in question must undeniably follow ¹.

Hence, although in handling unaccomplished prophecies we must not presume to advance a step beyond the express declarations of the prophecies themselves, yet are we at liberty to apply to the Roman kingdom whatever Isaiah and Joel and Micah and Zechariah predict respecting the overthrow of an impious confederacy in Palestine syn-

¹ The parallel prophecies, to which I refer as all treating of the same persons and the same times and the same countries and the same events, are the following: Dan. xi. 40—45. xii. 1, 2. Rev. xvi. 17—21. xviii. xix. xx. 1—5. Isaiah lx. lxvi. Joel ii. iii. Micah iv. v. Zechar. xii. xiii. xiv.

chronically with the restoration of Daniel's ancient people the children of Judah.

V. Those, who delight in speculating upon unfulfilled prophecy, may read the divine oracles in question. A commentator, however, must not presume to assert any thing, beyond what they themselves assert. That Antichrist will fall in Palestine under his revived seventh head, synchronically with the restoration of Judah, and after having combated with the two then existing sovereigns of Egypt and Syria, he may safely maintain: because, in making such a declaration, he in effect does nothing more than repeat the anticipatory statements of prophecy. But, with respect to any thing more minute and specific, it is his best wisdom to observe a prudent silence and a reverential reserve.

BOOK IV.



AN EXPOSITION OF THE FIRST PORTION OF
THE SEALED OR LARGER BOOK OF THE
APOCALYPSE.

CHAPTER I.

RESPECTING THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE APOCALYPTIC PROPHECIES.

THE prophecies, contained in the Revelation of St. John, are spread, in point of chronology, over the entire great calendar of seven times ; extending also, beyond the allotted period of that calendar, to the final consummation of all things : and, in point of geography, they respect the whole platform of the Roman Empire both Eastern and Western ; that Empire, by successive agglomeration, having at length territorially become the completed compound metallic image ¹.

I. These prophecies are so arranged, that they naturally divide themselves into three grand parts.

1. The first part comprehends the first portion of the sealed or larger book : and, if its introductory part be included, it is contained in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, chapters, according to the vulgar division of the Apocalypse.

2. The second part comprehends the whole of the open or little book : and, if we include its præm,

¹ See above book iii. chap. i.

it commences with the tenth chapter, and terminates at the end of the fourteenth.

3. The third part comprehends the second portion of the sealed or larger book : and, while in point of chronology it is immediately consecutive to the first portion of the same book, it occupies all the remainder of the Apocalypse ; the little open book being inserted between these two portions in the way of a parenthetic episode ¹.

II. But the apocalyptic prophecies are likewise arranged under three septenaries : that of the seals, that of the trumpets, and that of the vials.

1. These septenaries follow each other in regular chronological order : so that the seventh seal introduces and comprehends all the seven trumpets, as in scientific arrangements *genus* is made to comprehend *species* ; while the seventh trumpet again, after a similar manner, introduces and comprehends all the seven vials.

¹ See above book ii. chap. iv. § III. That part of the Apocalypse, which succeeds the battle of Armageddon, and which is contained in the three last chapters, ought perhaps rather to be viewed, as a sort of appendix or epilogue, than as strictly included within the sealed book : for the grand collective period of the seven seals must obviously terminate with the termination of its last minor subincluded period of the seventh vial ; and the minor period of the seventh vial, which is the ultimate stage of the third woe, undoubtedly terminates with the overthrow of the Roman antichristian faction in the battle of Armageddon. This little nicety, however, is of no importance, so far as the general arrangement of the Apocalypse is concerned.

2. Yet, though each apocalyptic period must of course chronologically *begin* before its successor, I am not aware that we are necessarily bound to suppose, that each of those periods *terminates* ere another commences. St. John, indeed, expressly tells us, that the first woe ceases before the second woe begins, and that the second woe ceases before the third woe begins: whence we *must* conclude, not only that the three periods of the three last trumpets are successive in point of commencement, but likewise that each entirely expires before the commencement of another. But, respecting the duration of all the other periods, he is totally silent: whence, although we are obliged to suppose them chronologically successive in point of commencement, we are by no means obliged to look upon one as terminated when another begins. So far indeed as induction goes, we may rather infer the contrary: because it seems needless for the Apostle so carefully to inform us, that each woe terminates before its successor commences, if such were likewise the case with every other apocalyptic period. We may conclude, then, that the period both of each seal and of each vial and of each of the four first trumpets *probably* extends into the peculiar period of its successor: so that, by this wrapping over of the prophetic periods, the period of one seal may possibly run into the period of another seal, more than a single trumpet may be sounding at once, and many vials may continue in the act of discharging some part of their contents synchroni-

cally¹. I say not, that, with the exception of the three last trumpets, such always *is* the case: I merely say, that, for any thing which appears to the contrary, such, in various instances, *may be* the case.

III. The little open book specially treats of the latter three times and a half: and, being inserted parenthetically in the midst of the great sealed book, it must of course run chronologically parallel to some certain part of that sealed book. Hence it will follow, that the portion of the sealed book, with which the open book runs chronologically parallel, is comprised within the same period of the latter three times and a half.

Now, in the great sealed book, the latter three times and a half commence at the sounding of the fifth trumpet and expire at the effusion of the seventh vial. Consequently, if the short time of the end so frequently mentioned by Daniel, which coincides with the period of the seventh vial, be added to them; the three times and a half, with this addition, will run chronologically parallel to the three woes introduced by the three last trumpets. Hence the period of the three woes in the sealed book will coincide, in point of chronology, with the period treated of in the open book².

These preliminaries being laid down, I shall now proceed to consider the apocalyptic prophecies in

¹ See above book ii. chap. 4. § I.

² See above book ii. chap. 4. § II.

the order of those three parts, into which they naturally divide themselves, and which have already been marked out with sufficient distinctness and precision¹.

¹ See above book iv. chap. i. § I.

CHAPTER II.

RESPECTING THE FOUR FIRST APOCALYPTIC SEALS.

THE entire volume of the Apocalypse is divided, into *the things which are*, and *the things which shall be hereafter* ; or, in other words, into matters unprophetically present, and matters prophetically future¹.

With respect to the first division which comprehends matters unprophetically present, it is confined to the seven charges delivered by our Lord to the seven Churches of Asia : and it is contained in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse, according to the vulgar arrangement of that book.

Where this first division ends, the second division commences : and, accordingly, at the beginning of the fourth chapter, still agreeably to the vulgar arrangement of the book, St. John describes himself,

¹ Rev. i. 19. Some would make a *triple* division. *Write the things which thou hast seen* ; or the vision of the Lord in the midst of the seven candlesticks, as contained in the first chapter of the Apocalypse : *and the things which are* ; or the charges to the seven Churches of Asia, as contained in the second and third chapters : *and the things which shall be hereafter* ; or the prophecies, contained in the whole remainder of the volume. Its admission or rejection is immaterial to the general exposition of the Apocalypse.

as hearing a voice which said to him ; *Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter* ¹. At this point, then, the Apostle, quitting matters unprophetically present, enters upon matters prophetically future : and the second grand division of the entire Apocalypse, thus commencing with the fourth chapter, comprehends all the remainder of the volume.

I. The prophetic series opens with the septenary of the seals : but, although the seals themselves are seven in number, the four first of them stand apart from the rest, and constitute a distinct and strongly marked quaternion.

These four seals, unlike in character to the three last seals, exhibit to us a succession of four war-horses with their four military riders. Hence they are strictly homogeneous : and hence, as they contain four manifestly parallel descriptions or hieroglyphical paintings, we are bound to interpret them all homogeneously.

1. So far as I can judge, no part of the Apocalypse has been so completely and so universally misunderstood as the quaternion of the equestrian seals.

Some have applied these four seals to certain vicissitudes of the secular Roman Empire, arranged under certain imaginary classifications of the Roman Emperors : while others have supposed them to announce certain phases or conditions of the Christian Church, through which it gradually passed,

¹ Rev. iv. 1.

from a state of primitive holiness and purity, to a state of active persecution in practice and of death-like corruption in morals and doctrine.

On the general *abstract* principle of symbolisation, to which all *applicatory* exposition must be made subservient, each of these schemes of interpretation, though sanctioned by some names of eminence, must assuredly be pronounced untenable and inadmissible.

2. However the quaternion of the equestrian seals ought to be understood in point of *applicatory* exposition, nothing, so far as the *abstract* principle of symbolisation is concerned, can be more easy than to determine its general import.

In the language of hieroglyphics, a beast is an Empire. Whence, as a wild-beast is an Empire viewed under the aspect of irreligious and persecuting ferocity, so a war-horse will obviously be an Empire viewed under the aspect of preëminent military pugnacity¹. For, since a beast simply represents an Empire simply: a beast complexly, according to the characteristic nature of its complexity, will represent an Empire complexly. A military Empire may indeed be a persecuting Empire also, if there be any particulars attached to the symbol of a war-horse which indicate such a spirit: but, nakedly and abstractedly, a war-horse denotes a military Empire with a specific reference to its military character.

¹ See above book i. chap. i. § II. 2, 3.

Such being the case *abstractedly*, the four war-horses of the four first seals, whatever may be their proper *application*, can only denote four military Empires : and, since these four war-horses succeed each other through the chronologically successive opening of four seals, they must additionally denote four military Empires successive to each other in widely extended rule and domination.

I give this *abstract* interpretation of the four apocalyptic war-horses upon what I deem a sound and irrefragable principle of exposition : and its propriety, according to the opinion both of our oldest and of our best commentators, is amply established by the well ascertained and actual employment in prophecy of the symbol in question.

Zechariah, in one of the most remarkable of his predictions, describes himself as beholding four successive chariots severally drawn by bay horses and black horses and white horses and strong spotted horses¹ : and this quaternion, with the general consent of Jerome and Capellus and Houbigant and Lowth and Blayney and Newcome, represents the four successive Empires of Babylon and Persia and Greece and Rome. Respecting the propriety of such an *application*, I entertain no doubt : for, as the necessity of the symbol compels us, in the *abstract*, to understand four successive military Empires : so, in the *concrete*, no four successive military Empires, save those which are commonly

¹ Zechar. vi. 1—8.

called *the four great Empires* and which are the acknowledged subject of Daniel's vision of the four great beasts, can be discovered for any reasonable purpose of prophetic *application* ¹.

3. The four successive apocalyptic war-horses, then, must inevitably, so far as I can judge, be four successive military Empires : for, in truth, the symbol of a war-horse admits not of any other interpretation. Hence, as we have now ascertained the *abstract* meaning of the four hieroglyphical paintings, we have only, from faithful history, to search for their proper *application*.

It is quite clear, that, *immediately subsequent* to the time of St. John, we shall vainly seek for any four successive military Empires, which may be reasonably thought to correspond with the figures of the four hieroglyphical paintings. We are compelled, therefore, to carry our inquiries *retrospectively*, in order that we may so discover one or more of the four Empires *anterior* to the time of the Apostle.

There can be no doubt, that the symbolical imagery of the four first seals has been borrowed from the Hebrew prophet Zechariah ; agreeably to a

¹ Dr. Stonard, who has lately presented us with a valuable and interesting Commentary on Zechariah, differing from the interpretation of his predecessors, wishes to apply the vision of the four chariots to four classes of events which began to occur within the Roman Empire soon after the decease of Constantine. Comment. on Zechar. p. 356—438. Such an exposition is irreconcilable with the abstract import of the symbols employed.

remark which has often been made, that there is scarcely a symbol employed in the Apocalypse but we may discover its prototype in the ancient Scriptures. St. John has, indeed, varied the machinery: but he has not varied it so as in any wise to affect the general import of the leading hieroglyphic itself. According to the delineation of Zechariah, more horses than one draw each chariot: while the chariot contains the warrior who drives and manages the horses. But, according to the delineation of St. John, a single war-horse is, in each seal, bestridden and guided by a single rider. Yet this variation affects not the general idea, which is meant to be conveyed. In Zechariah, each great Empire is described as composed of several united and subjugated Empires, jointly represented by the several horses which draw each chariot: but the whole collectively, that is to say, the one great Empire composed of several subordinate Empires, is impelled and directed by the presiding charioteer. In the Apocalypse, some four great military Empires are respectively symbolised by four war-horses, each single Empire by a single war-horse: but each single Empire is similarly impelled and directed by the governing rider. The general idea, we see, is, in either case, the same. A war-horse, or a collection of united war-horses, represents a great military Empire: and a charioteer or a rider, according to the modification of the symbol, represents the political form of government under which that Empire is placed. So far as the meaning of the whole picture

is concerned, the variation in the management of the leading-symbol is immaterial: and it is not unworthy of note, that Zechariah himself has authorised the variation in the Apocalypse; for, in another of his prophecies, he mounts the ruling powers upon the backs of single horses, instead of seating them in chariots drawn by several horses¹.

The imagery of St. John thus being evidently borrowed from the imagery of Zechariah and thus conveying moreover precisely the same general idea in the *abstract*, we are naturally led to suspect, from the identity of the numbers, that the quaternion of the one denotes, in point of *application*, the very same four military Empires that are denoted by the quaternion of the other. For, as it is certain that no four such Empires can be discovered immediately after the days of St. John: so it is equally certain, that exactly four such Empires had started into existence anterior to the days of St. John; and it is also certain, that, both with Daniel and with Zechariah, those four Empires have constituted the grand theme of calendarian prophecy. Hence I am led to conclude, that the four managed war-horses of the four first seals can only denote the four great military Empires of Babylon and Persia and Greece and Rome: and in this opinion I am the rather confirmed, because, by its adoption, we bring out a beautiful harmonic correspondence between Daniel and St. John. On the presumption

that the opinion is well founded, the Apocalypse of St. John will bear, to the prophecies of Daniel, a yet closer affinity, than has hitherto been supposed. Sir Isaac Newton justly remarks, that *the Apocalypse of St. John is written in the same style and language with the prophecies of Daniel, and has the same relation to them which they have to one another, so that all of them together make but one complete prophecy* ¹. But, if I err not in my proposed application of the four first seals, the Apocalypse also spreads over the same great prophetic calendar, as that which constitutes the gage and measure of Daniel's predictions: for, commencing retrospectively with the appearance of the Babylonian Empire in the calendar, it passes through the entire times of the Roman Empire, and at length conducts us to the final consummation of the universe.

(1.) To this arrangement it may be objected, that such an application of the four first seals is inadmissible, because it contradicts the declaration of the voice to St. John: *I will shew thee things, which must be* HEREAFTER ². The voice asserts, that *future* matters are about to be revealed to the Apostle. Now the very earliest of these revealed matters are the contents of the four seals. Therefore the four seals must respect matters *future*, not matters *past*.

¹ Observ. on the Apoc. chap. ii. p. 254.

² Rev. iv. 1.

The force of the objection I allow : but I meet it by adducing the analogy of Daniel's confessedly parallel prophecies. In more than one of those predictions, we have a *retrospective* præm, no less than a *prospective* annunciation. Daniel states what is *past*, before he advances to what is *future*. Now I require nothing more than the admission, that St. John may write upon the same perfectly intelligible plan : a plan, so obvious and so natural, that the specific history of any given period is usually, for the sake of greater perspicuity, prefaced by a brief introductory account of the preceding period ; and I need scarcely to remark, that prophecy is, in effect, no other than anticipated history. On this ground, I conceive that there is nothing really objectionable in making the four first seals a retrospective introduction to that portion of the Apocalypse which alone is truly and properly prophetic.

Still it may be urged, that the declaration of the voice is too precise and too definite to admit of any such modification : *I will shew thee things, which must be* HEREAFTER ; or, according to a yet more literal rendering of the original, *I will shew thee things, which must be* AFTER THESE THINGS ¹.

My answer is, that an equally express declaration in the writings of Daniel has never been thought sufficient to prevent, what every one feels to be, the just and necessary exposition of the vision of the

¹ Gr. μετὰ ταῦτα.

four great beasts. The interpreting angel asserts: *These great beasts, which are four, are four kings which SHALL ARISE out of the earth*¹. His language, we see, is cast into the same generalising form, as the declaration of the voice in the Apocalypse. Even in the time of Daniel and in the first year of Belshazzar the actual king of the already existing Babylonian Empire, the rise of all the four beasts is asserted to be *future*. Yet this assertion has never prevented commentators from rightly applying the types of the four beasts to their undoubted antitypes the four great Empires. It has always been understood with the requisite limitation: and I ask nothing more than an exactly similar limitation for the language employed by the celestial voice in the Apocalypse. I may add, that, whether my proposed application of the four first seals be admitted or not, we shall find ourselves equally compelled to allow the *necessity* of the required limitation. The voice declares: *I will shew thee things, which must be* HEREAFTER. Yet, among the things shewn, is the rise of the Roman beast complete, with all his seven heads, so far as the age of St. John is concerned, both past and present and future: that rise, which most undoubt-

¹ Dan. vii. 17. The Chaldee is the future יקומין without the converse Vau. Hence the word is *incapable* of any other than a translation in the future. Accordingly, the Seventy justly render it by ἀναστήσονται: and Jerome, by *consurgent*.

edly occurred many centuries before the declaration of the voice was heard by the Apostle ¹.

(2.) St. John, employing the four first seals for the purpose of an introduction which should at once distinctly connect his predictions with the predictions of Daniel and should cause the chronological line of the Apocalypse to commence with the commencement of the grand prophetic calendar, uses, as we might naturally expect from the circumstance of the four great Empires having been already treated of with much copiousness by the more ancient Hebrew seer, a studied measure of brevity. He was writing only a connective introduction: and prolixity would have been foreign to his object. Yet, brief as may be his statement, there is, in his management of the topic, a peculiarity which must by no means be pretermitted in silence.

At the time when St. John wrote, the Baby-

¹ Accordingly, the interpreting angel *himself* declares, that the symbol respects things, both past, present, and future. *The seven heads are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come.* Rev. xvii. 9, 10. Compare Rev. xiii. 1. Every commentator, indeed, with whose writings I am acquainted, finds himself *compelled* to place the opening of at least the first seal *anterior* to the time when the visions of the Apocalypse were seen by St. John. For those visions were seen by him in the year 96: and commentators, according as they understand the oracle of the first seal ecclesiastically or secularly, are wont, without incurring any special *chronological* censure, to place the opening of that seal either in the year 33 or in the year 70.

lonian Empire and the Medo-Persian Empire had so passed away, that, although (according to Daniel ¹) their lives were in some sort prolonged, they had ceased nevertheless to be a definite subject of prophecy. But the Grecian Empire and the Roman Empire, those two wreathed bands of brass and iron which secured the allegorical tree of imperial sovereignty from being entirely eradicated ², still remained, not only a definite subject of prophecy, but even the special and well nigh exclusive theme of the entire Apocalypse: for the proper Roman Empire continued to exist in the divided Western Empire of the ten horns; and the proper Grecian Empire, though absorbed for a season, continued to exist, first in the Christian Constantinopolitan Empire, and afterward in the Mohammedan Constantinopolitan Empire. Hence, in St. John's introduction, the four great Empires, when treated of, severally required a somewhat different management: and this management constitutes the peculiarity, which I have mentioned as worthy of our careful notice.

The peculiarity, then, to be observed, may be stated in manner following.

With respect to the Babylonian Empire and the Medo-Persian Empire, they are dismissed at once and altogether, each briefly marked with its own

¹ Dan. vii. 12.

² Dan. iv. 23. See above book iii. chap. i. § II. 3.

ancient characteristic : but the Grecian Empire and the Roman Empire, being still destined to be very prominent subjects of prophecy, are respectively described with characteristics, which appertained to them, not so much in old times, as during the peculiar times of the Apocalypse. In other words, the two first Empires are designated by characteristics, which they possessed *before* the days of St. John : but the two last Empires are designated by characteristics, which they possessed *after* the days of the Apostle.

Such being the case, the respective periods of the two first seals must be viewed as severally expiring before the opening of the third seal : but the respective periods of the third seal and the fourth seal, on the principle already laid down with sufficient distinctness¹, so wrap over many of the succeeding apocalyptic periods, that they must be viewed as chronologically extending through the greater part of the entire volume.

(3.) Commentators have often busied themselves to account for the different colours of the horses, both in the quaternion of the seals, and in the quaternion of the chariots.

On this point, I confess myself to agree with Dr. Blayney. Speaking of Zechariah's quaternion of chariots, he remarks : *I question if the colours of the horses design any thing more than the diver-*

¹ See above book iv. chap. 1. § II. 2.

sity of the people of whom those Empires respectively consisted, not any characteristic quality belonging to them.¹

The colours, I take it, are a mere arbitrary uniform, employed to distinguish one Empire from another : and I the rather adopt Dr. Blayney's opinion, because the colours of the corresponding horses in the two quaternions do not agree. With Zechariah, the Babylonian horses are bay : the Medo-Persian horses are black : the Grecian horses are white : and the Roman horses are spotted. But, with St. John, the Babylonian horse is white : the Medo-Persian horse is bay or fire-coloured : the Grecian horse is black : and the Roman horse is pale or sallow-white². Now, even had the

¹ Blayney's Comment. on Zechar. vi. 2.

² Gr. *χλωρός*. The word denotes, either *the vivid green of young grass*, or *the colour of grass when withered and burnt up by the sun*. In the notion of a bright green horse, there is something ridiculously incongruous. Hence I suppose the colour of the Roman horse to have been pale or sallow or dirty white, as opposed to the pure white or perhaps cream-colour of the Babylonian horse. The distinction between these two sorts of white may be observed in the varying aspects of the moon, as she portends rain or fair weather. *Pallida* luna pluit, *rubicunda* flat, *alba* serenat.

Dean Woodhouse, who supposes the colours of the apocalyptic horses to denote *qualities*, wishes to exhibit the fourth horse as being *livid-green* or *grassy-green* : a colour, he remarks, *which, though beautiful in the clothing of the trees and fields, is very unseemly, disgusting, and even horrible, when it appears upon flesh ; it is there the vivid colour of corruption*. Woodhouse's Apoc. p. 151. Having thus determined the colour

colours in the two quaternions *corresponded*, still Dr. Blayney's opinion would not thereby have been confuted ; because, in that case, each colour might well have been deemed the fixed distinguishing uniform of each Empire¹ : but the circumstance of their *not corresponding* serves, I think, very strongly to establish its propriety. If the colours had denoted any exclusively characteristic quality in the several Empires, by which one Empire radi-

of the horse, he would view it as indicative of the persecuting spirit evinced by the Church during his supposed period of the fourth seal.

In his opinion, that a season of persecution is indicated by the adjuncts of the fourth seal, I fully agree with him. But, as I deem his whole scheme of expounding the quaternion of the equestrian seals irreconcilable with the abstract import of the symbol of a war-horse ; so I doubt, whether a word, ambiguous in signification, can be legitimately employed, in the way of argument, for the purpose of shewing, that the hue of the Church had now become the livid hue of persecution. The argument vanishes, if we translate, as we have a right to translate it, the word *χλωρὸς* by *pale* or *sallow* or *dirty-white*. * *Χλωρὸς*, virens in modum germinum recens e planta pullulantium ; pallidus, referens colorem herbarum foliorumque flaccescentium et arescentium. The word, in this latter sense *apparently* though (I confess) not *certainly*, is applied to new cheese. See Stephan. Thesaur. in voc. *χλωρὸς*.

¹ Much on the same principle, as each modern nation has its own fixed military uniform ; though the *colour* of each uniform has no mystic reference to the *character* of each nation. The colour of our *English* uniform, at least, has doubtless been adopted from the colour of the heraldic field of the royal arms : and that uniform, in its origin, is neither more nor less than the King's livery.

cally and essentially differed from another Empire, their transfer would plainly have been inadmissible.

I view the colours, therefore, as designed to shew, that the several war-horses represent *different* Empires, not *one and the same* Empire under *different* aspects. In this point of view, they are not a little important and useful : and I may remark, that, had Dr. Blayney's opinion been more generally adopted, the errors of Mede and the two Newtons, in regard to the four first seals, would never have existed.

(4.) But, while I doubt whether the varying colours of the horses can have any reference to quality, I incline to suspect, that there is both art and design in the invitation, which the Apostle receives from the four cherubic forms to come and see the four successive equestrian symbols. Though, *in itself*, the particular figure of the Cherubim could assuredly have no relation to the four great military Empires of the Gentiles : yet the peculiarity of that figure, when *already existing*, may have been employed *allusively* to certain of their established characteristics. Hence, if we find the four modifications of the Cherub so connected with the four equestrian symbols in the Apocalypse as to evince somewhat of a designed allusion to the four Empires, we shall have an additional reason to believe that the four Empires are the real antitypes to the four war-horses. Now this curious circum-

stance seems to be evinced by actual matter of fact ¹.

When the first seal is opened, the cherubic winged lion invites the prophet to behold the Babylonian war-horse. Here, I think, we may note an appearance of design and selection. The winged lion was at once the form of the Assyrian solar divinity and the symbol of the Babylonian Empire itself. As such, the winged lion is employed by Daniel to represent the first great Empire : and, as such, if I mistake not, the winged lion rampant, or the winged lion in the precise attitude ascribed by Daniel to the symbol, receiving, as he is sculptured on the walls of the Persepolitan palace, the sword of the Persian king in his entrails, exhibits to the beholders the Empire of Babylon mortally wounded by the sword of the victorious Cyrus ².

At the opening of the second seal, the cherubic bull invites the prophet to behold the Medo-Persian war-horse. Here again we may observe the decorum of studied design. The bull-man is the

¹ That there is no *abstract* impossibility or improbability in the supposition that the peculiarity of the cherubic forms may have been employed *allusively* to the Empires of the Gentiles, we may learn from the *actual application* of the name and machinery of the Cherub to the pagan king of Tyre. See Ezek. xxviii. 1—19.

² This very curious sculpture cannot be deemed a mere accidental hunting-piece, in which a Persian king or noble slays a lion : because the lion in question is an imaginary animal decorated or disguised with wings.

sacred form of the twice-apparent great father in the Persic theology of the Zend-Avesta¹: and Statius alludes to the sculptured image of that tauriform Mithras, who, as he still appears conspicuously prominent in the mystic grottos of Persia, was the grand object of Magian veneration².

At the opening of the third seal, the cherubic man invites the prophet to behold the Grecian war-horse. This arrangement has been adopted, I conceive, not without a purposed reference to the special peculiarity of Hellenic idolatry. While the nations of Egypt and the East adored their divinities under the form of birds and beasts and fishes, either simply or compoundedly with the

¹ See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book iii. chap. 3. The reader will find there a curious prayer, specially addressed to the divine bull. Its first clause is couched in the following terms.

Address your prayer to the excellent bull: address your prayer to the pure bull: address your prayer to those principles of all good: address your prayer to the rain, the source of plenty: address your prayer to the bull, become pure, celestial, holy; who has never been engendered, who is holy.

In truth, if I mistake not, the familiar pagan worship of the lion, the bull, and the eagle, variously compounded with each other or with the man, must be traced, in the first instance, to a perverted recollection of the forms of the Paradisiacal Cherubim. See my Orig. of Pagan Idol. book ii. chap. 6.

² Phœbe parens,—seu te roseum Titana vocari

Gentis Achæmeniaë ritu, seu præstat Osirin

Frugiferum, seu Persei sub rupibus antri

Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithran.

Stat. Thebaid. lib. i. ad fin.

human form ; the Greeks, under the influence of a better taste if not of a purer theology, rejecting the misshapen idols of their Asiatic and Coptic ancestors, directed their classical worship to the figures of men and women : and, as I need scarcely to remark, some of the finest specimens of statuary now extant are the representations of the strictly anthropomorphic gods and goddesses of ancient Greece.

When the fourth seal is opened, the cherubic eagle invites the prophet to behold the Roman war-horse. Still we may observe a studied propriety in the selection of the herald. Under the eagle the Romans marched to victory and conquest : and so highly was this far-famed and long-preserved military ensign venerated by them, that Tacitus calls the legionary eagles *the proper deities of the soldiery*.

(5.) I have only to add, before I proceed to a separate consideration of each one of the four first seals, that the dates of their respective openings chronologically correspond with the dates of the four metals as they successively completed the form of the vast colossal image. For St. John, like the Babylonian prince in the vision first recorded by Daniel, did not behold *the actual rise of the four Empires*, but only *their successive appearance on the sacred calendar of prophecy*¹. Hence

¹ The difference, between *the actual rise* and *the calendarian appearance* of the four Empires, is exemplified in the two visions of the four great beasts and the metallic image. Daniel beholds

the opening of the first seal synchronises with the birth of the golden head : the opening of the second seal, with the juncture of the silver to the gold : the opening of the third seal, with the juncture of the brass to the silver : and the opening of the fourth seal, with the juncture of the iron to the brass ¹.

II. I shall now proceed to a separate consideration of each one of the four first seals.

1. On the principle, then, of distinction between the actual rise of an Empire and its appearance on the calendar of prophecy, the opening of the first seal exhibits, what we may term, the calendarian appearance of the Babylonian Empire.

And I saw, when the Lamb opened one of the seals ; and I heard, as a voice of thunder, one of the four living creatures saying : Come, and

the rise or actual commencement of the four Empires : Nebuchadnezzar beholds them only as they successively appear upon the sacred calendar. This last mode of seeing them corresponds exactly with the arrangement adopted in the Canon of Ptolemy : and it is the same as that which was presented to St. John in the opening of the four first seals. On the other hand, in Rev. xiii. 1, the Apostle beholds the actual rise or commencement of the Roman Empire : for Rev. xiii. 1, by the very necessity of its parallel phraseology, clearly synchronises with Dan. vii. 7. Daniel and St. John alike behold the Roman beast *come up out of the sea*. Compare Dan. vii. 3, 7, with Rev. xiii. 1. Hence they, undoubtedly, behold *one and the same* circumstance. This last point is so clear, that the erroneous opinion, often entertained respecting it, is truly marvellous. See below book v. chap. 4. § II.

¹ See above book iii. chap. 1. § I. 1.

*see. And I saw ; and, behold, a white horse : and he, that sat on him, had a bow ; and a crown was given unto him : and he went forth, conquering and to conquer*¹.

As the opening of the first seal, like the nativity of the golden head, synchronises with the birth of Nebuchadnezzar at the commencement of the sacred calendar of prophecy ; the conquests of the white horse, under the guidance of the crowned warrior who bestrides him, will be the conquests achieved, between the years before Christ 626 and 570, partly by Nebuchadnezzar himself and partly by his father Nabopolassar.

The conquests of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, or, as these two princes are sometimes denominated, the two Nebuchadnezzars, comprehended the whole of central Asia, with the more distant regions of Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya. Sufficient, therefore, was accomplished by them, to warrant the description, that the martial rider of the white horse went forth, conquering and to conquer.

Agreeably to my arrangement of the metallic image, I place the opening of the first seal in the year before Christ 657 : and I suppose its period to extend to the year before Christ 538, when the silver was politically joined to the gold.

2. The opening of the second seal describes the calendarian appearance of the Medo-Persian Empire.

¹ Rev. vi. 1, 2.

And, when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature say: Come, and see. And there went out another horse of a bay colour: and it was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword¹.

The character, here given of the Medo-Persian Empire, is the same as that which Daniel had already given of it in his concluding prophecy. It should be *remarkable for stirring up the whole world in arms*: and this character it most especially vindicated to itself, when it brought, against the single realm of Greece, the collective forces of Asia and Africa and Spain and Gaul and Italy².

There is a difference in the weapons of the two riders of the two first horses, which may justly call our attention. The rider of the Babylonian horse bears a bow: the rider of the Persian horse brandishes a great sword.

I am much inclined to think, that Xenophon, in his account of the military system adopted by the great Cyrus, will best explain the difference in question. Previous to the time of that prince, the bow and the javelin were alike the arms both of the Babylonians and of the Persians: but, when Cyrus with fewer troops had to cope with the

¹ Rev. vi. 3, 4.

² Dan. xi. 2. See Bp. Newton's Dissert. on the Proph. dissert. xvi, vol. ii. p. 67, 68.

mighty Assyrian Empire supported by its numerous allies, he adopted the plan of arming his chosen Persians with swords or scymetars ; that so, in close combat, a smaller body of men might be an overmatch for a much larger body provided only with missile weapons. The system, as is usually the case with every novel and unexpected improvement in the art of war, perfectly succeeded ; and the sword of Persia prevailed over the bow of Babylon ¹.

With reference, apparently, to this very circumstance, the sculptured prince, on the walls of the palace at Persepolis, is exhibited as slaughtering the winged lion rampant, not with an arrow or a javelin, but with a weighty sword calculated alike for thrusting and for cutting.

I place the opening of the second seal in the year before Christ 538, when the Babylonian Empire was succeeded by the Medo-Persian : and I suppose its period to extend to the year before Christ 331, when the brass was politically joined to the silver.

3. The opening of the third seal describes the calendarian appearance of the Greek Empire.

And, when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third living creature say : Come, and see. And I beheld ; and, lo, a black horse : and he, that sat on him, had a yoke in his hand. And I heard a voice, in the midst of the four living creatures, say : A choenix of wheat for a dena-

¹ Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. ii. p. 52—57. Edit. Hutchinson.

*rius, and three choenices of barley for a denarius, and the wine and the oil injure not*¹.

As the Greek Empire, though absorbed by the Roman, still, in the quality of the band of brass, continued to exist under the successive aspects of the Christian Constantinopolitan Empire and the Mohammedan Constantinopolitan Empire; St. John assigns to it a characteristic, which, being future when the apocalyptic visions were seen by him, serves at once, chronologically to harmonise it with those visions, and to mark its peculiar condition during the latter portion of its existence.

The rider of the black horse, at the time alluded to in the present hieroglyphic, bears in his hand a yoke². Now a yoke is the symbol of tyrannical religious imposition³. Therefore the rider of the black horse, at the time alluded to, is remarkable for a tyrannical imposition of this precise nature and description.

Under the peculiar imagery which is here employed, the heavy yoke of the Mohammedan superstition, imposed upon the whole of the Greek Empire, both European and Asiatic and African, seems, I apprehend, to be pointed out with no ordinary distinctness and accuracy. The black horse of the third seal being politically identical with the he-goat of the vision which Daniel saw in the third

¹ Rev. vi. 5, 6.

² Gr. ζυγόν.

³ 1 Tim. vi. 1. Galat. v. 1. Coloss. ii. 16. 1 Peter ii. 16.

year of Belshazzar, the imposition of the yoke will have commenced with the rise of the Mohammedan little horn, behind the territories of the he-goat, in the year after Christ 608 or 609¹: and this imposition was completed, when the entire Greek Empire was subjected to, a line of persecuting and intolerant Mohammedan princes. Then it was, that the yoke was placed upon the neck of a reluctant population: and there the yoke may be said still to continue, notwithstanding the various efforts which have been made to throw it off.

The natural consequence of the imposition of such a yoke, when acting upon an already degraded and superstitious Church, was a grievous declension of sound scriptural religion. This is set forth by the proclamation: *A choenix of wheat for a denarius, and three choenices of barley for a denarius*. When such was the price of grain, it was immoderately dear and therefore very scarce. Hence, in the figured language of prophecy, the voice announces, that, synchronically with the operation of the yoke, there should be a dearth of corn; not, however, of that which is literal, but of that which is allegorical. *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will send a famine in the land: not a famine of bread nor a thirst for water, but a famine of hearing the words of the Lord*².

Yet, although such should be the condition of the

¹ Dan. viii. 5, 9. See above book iii. chap. 3. § II. 3.

² Amos viii. 11.

Greek Church under the iron' yoke of Mohammedi-
ism, a truth lamentably established by well known
matter of fact; the proclamation further announces,
that the figurative wine' and oil should remain un-
injured.

By the wine and the oil, I understand, agreeably
to the usage of symbolical phraseology, the grand
saving doctrines of revelation¹. The proclamation,
therefore, announces, that, in the midst of the alle-
gorical famine and under the extreme pressure of
the yoke, these should escape uninjured. Accord-
ingly, notwithstanding the deplorable scarcity of
God's word throughout all the dominions of the
black horse, and notwithstanding the constant ac-
tion of Mohammedan bigotry and intolerance, the
grand saving doctrines of Christianity, though as-
sociated with abundance of figurative hay and
stubble, have never been obliterated.

I place the opening of the third seal in the year
before Christ 331, when the Grecian Empire suc-
ceeded to the Medo-Persian, or when the brass was
politically joined to the silver: but I suppose its
period to extend far beyond the time when the ori-
ginal Greek Empire was absorbed by the Roman.
For, since the band of brass was wreathed with the
band of iron for the purpose of securing the alle-
gorical tree of Empire from total destruction, and
since the angry defiance of the Mohammedan little

¹ Psalm lxii. 16. Hos. ii. 22. Jerem. xxxi. 12. perhaps also
Luke x. 34.

horn is to reach to the very time of the end or to the close of the calendarian times of the Gentiles¹; the allotted period of the third seal, wrapping over the periods of its numerous apocalyptic successors, must extend to the time of the end also : in other words, if my computation of the grand calendar be accurate, it must extend to the year after Christ 1864.

4. The opening of the fourth seal describes the calendarian appearance of the Roman Empire.

And, when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the fourth living creature say : Come, and see. And I beheld; and, lo, a sallow-white horse, and he that sat upon him ! His name was Death : and Hades followed with him. And power was given unto him, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with the sword and with hunger and with death and with the beasts of the earth².

The Roman Empire, either in its undivided state or in its divided state, continues, in the eye of prophecy, to exist, through the visions of the Apocalypse, until its final dissolution under the seventh vial at the close of the latter three times and a half. Hence the characteristics, assigned to it by St. John, are those, which should mark its nature and disposition, not anterior, but subsequent, to the promulgation of the Gospel.

Accordingly, whether pagan or papal, it is exhibited as a tremendously persecuting Power.

¹ Dan. iv. 23. viii. 19.

² Rev. vi. 7, 8.

Death himself personified is the ominous rider of the sallow-white horse : and, by various means of destruction, he receives power to exterminate the faithful throughout the fourth part of the earth or throughout the dominions of the fourth great Empire¹.

¹ I wish not superfluously to refine on the language of prophecy : yet, in the four different modes of extermination here propounded, I think we may not obscurely perceive, that two of them are specially appropriate to the persecutions of Rome pagan, while the other two are equally appropriate to the persecutions of Rome papal. .

In the times of Rome pagan, martyrdom was usually conferred by the sword and by wild-beasts : in the times of Rome papal, the instruments have been famine and fire ; the last, here emphatically and by way of eminence styled *death*. By famine and cold, the persecuted Waldenses perished by hundreds and by thousands amidst the snows of their native Alps : by fire, victims innumerable have borne their testimony to the truth, and in the midst of the flames have gloriously received the crown of martyrdom.

I am fully aware, that Dean Woodhouse, an authority which ought never to be slighted, understands *death* in this quaternion of destruction to mean *pestilence* ; resting his exposition of the word upon the text in Ezek. xiv. 21, which he deems a parallel passage. But, in truth, the two passages are not parallel in *sense*, however they may be parallel in *construction*. Ezekiel speaks of *divine judgments*, which *the Lord* would send upon Jerusalem : St. John, with the consent of Dr. Woodhouse himself, speaks of *persecutions on account of religious opinions*, which should be carried on throughout all the middle ages (and, as I myself believe, through the earlier ages of Christianity also) by *the governing and influential Powers of the Roman Empire*. Now here we have, in point of *ideality*, a mighty difference between the two passages, which effectually destroys their alleged

But Death personified is not the sole agent introduced. As the rider of the Roman horse, he is clearly, according to the analogy of the three preceding seals, the secular polity which governs and directs the Empire. Yet he does not appear alone in the horrid work of persecuting devastation. He is attended by a personification of Hades or the invisible world : who is said to follow along with him, and who evidently stimulates and encourages him in his deeds of widely extended slaughter.

As Death on the sallow-white horse is identical with the first wild-beast of the Apocalypse or the seven-headed and ten-horned secular Roman Empire : so his attendant Hades must obviously, I think, be also identical with the second wild-beast

parallelism. *God*, in his wrath, may send pestilence *as a divine judgment* : but I see not, how *man* can employ it *as an engine of persecution*. Hence, that *death*, which emphatically occurs, *as a snode of slaughter for conscience sake*, in the midst of the sword and hunger and wild-beasts, certainly cannot denote *pestilence* : because, through the agency of *pestilence*, no persecutor can systematically and at pleasure confer the crown of martyrdom.

The word, let it *precisely* mean what it may, describes an engine of persecution. *This*, at least, is abundantly clear. Such being the case, I know not what punishment can better deserve the name of *death* by way of eminence, than the horrid penalty of vivicremation which a corrupt Church has specially appropriated to those whom she denominates *heretics*.

As Dean Woodhouse does not deny, that the fourth seal exhibits a period of *persecutions on account of religious opinions* ; so is this matter most amply established by the context of the fifth or succeeding seal. See Woodhouse's Apocal. p. 151—158.

of the Apocalypse or the two-horned spiritual Empire of the Papacy, which is similarly described as being the attendant and instigator of the first wild-beast ¹.

To this conclusion we are led by the mutual connection of the two leading symbols, the sallow-white horse and the ten-horned wild-beast; for, if these two symbols alike denote the secular Roman Empire, their two respective attendants, being parallel adjuncts to one and the same Power, must, of plain necessity, be identical: and, with such a conclusion, the several characters of the two attendants exactly correspond. The two-horned wild-beast is specifically determined to be a spiritual or ecclesiastical Empire, by the circumstance of his bearing the title of *the false prophet*: and, in like manner, Hades personified, when given as an attendant to a secular Empire, can only mean a spiritual Domination, which should claim unlimited power over the invisible world, and which should employ mankind's superstitious acquiescence in that claim as a mighty instrument both of merciless persecution and of ecclesiastical aggrandisement ².

It will be observed, that the rider of the sallow-white horse is the only one of the four equestrian

¹ Rev. xiii. 11—18.

² I need scarcely remark, that the first little horn bears exactly the same relation to Daniel's ten-horned beast, that Hades bears to death upon the sallow-white horse, and that the second wild-beast or false prophet bears to the first wild-beast of the Apocalypse.

warriors, who is provided with an attendant or follower. The three first, respectively, advance alone : but the fourth is closely followed by Hades ; who, after his appearance upon the stage, unites cordially with his principal in deeds of bloodshed, and urges him on in the track of persecution. This remarkable circumstance may serve not a little to establish the propriety of the general interpretation, which I have been led to adopt in regard to the four first seals.

I place the opening of the fourth seal in the year before Christ 30, when the Roman Empire succeeded to the Grecian, or when the iron was politically joined to the brass : but the period of the fourth seal, wrapping over the periods of its successors, does not expire, until the close of the latter three times and a half in the year after Christ 1864 ; when, in the course of the short term styled *the time of the end* and synchronical with the efflux of the seventh vial, the tyranny of the wild-beast and the false prophet will be dissolved and annihilated.

CHAPTER III.

RESPECTING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH APOCALYPTIC SEALS.

THE fifth and sixth apocalyptic seals, though chronologically successive to the opening of the four first seals in the complete septenary, are yet constructed upon different principles, and consequently are so far distinct from them.

I. At the opening of the fifth seal, St. John beholds the result of the earlier persecutions announced under the fourth seal. These *earlier* persecutions, or the persecutions carried on by the pagan Roman Empire, are described as having now terminated : but the Church of God is not, therefore, as yet to expect any permanent tranquillity. The sufferers are exhorted to rest for a little season, until their brethren, that are about to be killed as they were, should be completed. A *second* period of persecution, therefore, is to be expected ; agreeably to the exactly parallel arrangement in Daniel's last vision, where a short term of little help is interposed between the two successive persecutions of the men of understanding¹. Consequently, the period of the fifth seal occupies the time, which elapses, between the end of the persecutions carried

¹ Dan. xi. 33—35. See above book iii. chap. iv. § III. 1, 2, 3.

on by the rider of the sallow-white horse singly, and the commencement of the persecutions carried on by the rider of the sallow-white horse in conjunction with his attendant and follower the personified Hades.

And, when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying: How long, O Lord holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them: and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that are about to be killed as they were, should be completed¹.

That the characteristic subject of the entire fourth seal is the persecution of the Church by the Roman Empire, and that it is not some indiscriminate slaughter of the human race without any specific reference to matters of religion, is demonstratively proved by the scene developed at the opening of the subsequent seal. When the fifth seal is opened, St. John beholds the souls of those, who were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held. But such a sight he could not have beheld, unless a *previous* persecution had taken place. Yet, unless this *previous* persecution

¹ Rev. vi. 9—11.

be described under the fourth¹ seal, it is *no where* described. Hence, the characteristic subject of the fourth seal is positively determined by the context of the fifth seal.

The earliest persecution of the Church, on the part of the Roman Empire, commenced, during the reign of Nero, in the year after Christ 64 : and her last persecution from the same quarter was that, which was conducted with unrelenting violence by Diocletian and Galerius. For ten years together was the Roman world stained with the blood of the saints : and so memorable did this last pagan persecution become in the early Church, that it acquired the name of *the era of Diocletian* or *the era of the martyrs*. In fact, there seems to have been a regular plan formed by Diocletian and Galerius for the absolute extinction of the Christian name : and so nearly was the diabolical scheme accomplished, that the religion of the Gospel was supposed and pronounced by the tyrants to be actually annihilated. For, as if some laudable exploit had been performed, a medal, which is still extant, was struck, bearing an inscription to that precise effect : THE NAME OF THE CHRISTIANS BEING EXTINGUISHED ¹. Yet did the Church survive this tremendous attack. Galerius, who latterly, after the abdication of Diocletian, had mainly promoted it, being brought to the brink of death by a dreadful and lingering disease, published, in the

¹ Nomine Christianorum delcto.

year 311, a solemn edict, commanding the persecution to cease and restoring freedom and repose to the harassed Christians¹.

Hence I apprehend, that the fifth seal, exhibiting the results and the close of the persecution carried on by pagan Rome, must be viewed as having been opened in the year 311: and, since its period occupies the time which elapses between the close of persecution on the part of Rome pagan and the commencement of persecution on the part of Rome papal, that period may be fitly considered as expiring in the year 604, when the saints of God were given by the ruling powers of the Empire into the hand of the little western horn or the personified Hades of the fourth seal.

II. The sixth seal is divided into two portions. When the affairs of the Church had been brought to the lowest ebb, and when at length she had scarcely obtained a reluctant toleration from the baffled tyrant Galerius, a wonderful revolution commenced, by which Paganism was overthrown and Christianity raised up in its stead to power and authority. Yet this great revolution, though outwardly felicitous, served only to foster a spirit of secularity and superstition: hence it became necessary, that the faithful should be separated from the unfaithful.

1. The first portion of the sixth seal announces a mighty change in the Roman world, which to

¹ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 318—320.

many persons of rank and power should cause no small consternation.

And I beheld, when he had opened the sixth seal: and, lo, there was a great earthquake. And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair; and the moon became as blood. And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth; even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind. And the heavens departed together as a scroll, when it is rolled together: and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every freeman, hid themselves in the caves and in the rocks of the mountains: and they said to the mountains and to the rocks; Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: for the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand¹?

In the figurative language of prophecy, great revolutions, whether temporal or ecclesiastical, are described under the imagery of confusion among the heavenly bodies and of violent agitation in regard to the earth². Now, since the preceding seal related specially to the Church, describing it as having recently emerged from the bloody persecu-

¹ Rev. vi. 12—17.

² See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1..

tions of Rome pagan, it seems natural to conclude, that an ecclesiastical rather than a temporal revolution should be here intended. Accordingly, the persecution of Diocletian and Galerius, which ceased in the year 311, was rapidly followed by the greatest ecclesiastical revolution, that the world ever beheld; no less a revolution, than the overthrow of the lately rampant Paganism of the Roman Empire and the establishment of Christianity in its stead.

I consider the sixth seal to have been opened in the year 313: for that year was marked by the famous edict of Constantine in favour of Christianity, which soon after led to its establishment upon the ruins of Paganism, and which finally liberated the Church from heathen persecution¹.

It is worthy of note, that even the prophet himself has with much art contrived to indicate, that the announced revolution is not a temporal but an ecclesiastical one.

Isaiah, foretelling the establishment of the spiritual Empire of Christ, had, many centuries before, described the overthrow of Paganism in language, that bore an immediate relation to the mode in which its most recondite mysteries were celebrated. Rocky caves and grottos were ever deemed peculiarly sacred: and, throughout the east in particular, the rites of the principal divinities were constantly performed in caverns sometimes natural and some-

¹ Gibbon's Hist. of Decline vol. ii. p. 489.

times artificial. Such being the case, the prophet tells us, that, in the day when the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains and when the idols shall be utterly abolished, the perplexed votaries of Paganism shall go into the Mithratic caverns of the rocks, and shall seek to hide themselves in the consecrated clefts of the mountain crags, for fear of the Lord and for the glory of his majesty, when he arises to shake terribly the earth ¹.

This same imagery St. John has most artfully adopted from the Hebrew prophet: and he has thus indirectly taught us, that *he* also, while foretelling some great revolution, refers to the overthrow of Paganism and to the establishment of Christianity. Astonished and terrified at the sudden change by which Paganism is depressed and Christianity is exalted, the various idolaters of the Roman world, whether high or low, rich or poor, are described, as hiding themselves in their consecrated grottos, and as vainly seeking to avert the ruin which hangs over their late triumphant superstition ².

2. The second portion of the sixth seal shews us the consequences of the mighty theological revolution, by which the long-established Paganism of the Roman Empire was overthrown; consequences of a mixed nature, and by no means altogether felicitous.

¹ Isaiah ii.

² See my *Origin of Pagan Idol.* book v. chap. 6. § I. 2. II. 2.

And, after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth nor on the sea nor on any tree. And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to injure the earth and the sea, saying; Injure not the earth nor the sea nor the trees, until we shall have sealed the servants of our God upon their foreheads. And I heard the number of the sealed: an hundred and forty and four thousand were sealed out of all the tribes of the children of Israel. After this I beheld: and, lo, a great multitude, which no one could number, from all nations and tribes and people and languages, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed in white robes and with palm-branches in their hands. And they cry with a loud voice, saying: Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb! And all the angels stood round about the throne and the elders and the four living creatures, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying: Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and might be unto our God for ever and ever! Amen! And one of the elders answered, saying unto me: Who are these, which are arrayed in white robes; and whence came they? And I said unto him: O my lord,

thou knowest. And he said unto me : These are they, who have come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple : and he, that sitteth on the throne, shall dwell over them. They shall hunger no more, neither shall they thirst any more ; nor shall the sun strike on them, nor any burning. Because the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall rule them like a shepherd, and shall lead them unto the fountains of waters of life : and God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes ¹.

At the commencement of the subordinate period described in this second portion of the sixth seal, a figurative sealing of God's people is said to have taken place, by which they are separated from a larger mass that heretofore comprehended them : and, at the same time, the recently persecuted and harassed Christians come forth out of great tribulation, being wonderfully and unexpectedly delivered from the hands of their pagan oppressors.

(1.) The imagery of the present portion is borrowed from the Levitical Dispensation.

Agreeably to that system of types and antitypes which pervades the whole Bible, the house of Israel is employed as a figure of the Christian Church. But, as the Apostle teaches us, all are not Israel who are of Israel : all, who bear the name of Chris-

¹ Rev. vii.

tians, are not Christians in spirit and reality. Hence the mystical number of 144,000 saints is said to be separated, at the chronological epoch when this second portior commences, by the allegorical act of sealing, from the great general mass of the figurative Israel. In other words, a separation takes place, at this special era, between the faithful followers of the Lamb and the great body of the visible Church. Such, when stripped of its symbolical imagery, is the obvious meaning of the vision now before us.

While the Church was in a suffering state, few, save the truly pious, would be disposed to join her: but, when the religion of the Church became the religion of the Emperor, converts of a much more ambiguous nature might be expected, and a lamentable growth of secularity might with reason be anticipated. The faith of the reigning prince would, of course, be the faith of every well-bred courtier: the profession of Christianity would be made the high road to imperial favour: the hierarchy would be infected with the baneful spirit of clerical tyranny and ambition: and, by a very intelligible revolution of sentiment, the late despised and persecuted Gospel would become the fashionable religion of the Roman world.

This mixture of sincerity and hypocrisy, of spirituality and secularity, when assisted by the growing superstition of the age and by the honours which Constantine so profusely heaped upon an aspiring priesthood, produced a state of things,

which had hitherto been unknown, but which has continued through all the middle ages down even to the present day. Such being the case, it was necessary, that so important a division in the visible Church should be distinctly marked by the spirit of prophecy : and, accordingly, the line of demarcation, which is first drawn in the age of Constantine, is continued with wonderful art to the very close of the latter 1260 years. Ere the commencement of that long series of calamities which afflicted the Roman Empire during the blast of the four first apocalyptic trumpets, calamities symbolised by the violent blowing of the four winds upon the Imperial Universe, a certain number of persons out of each tribe of the figurative Israel is sealed with the seal of God upon their foreheads as constituting jointly the sum total of his really faithful servants. Henceforth, then, the visible Church is composed of sealed members and of unsealed members, the former separated from the latter : and, since the sealed are declared to *be* the servants of God ; it will follow, by a necessary implication, that the unsealed are *not* the servants of God in reality, however they may profess to be so in outward appearance.

The separation, which commenced in the age of Constantine, is again noticed as still subsisting at the beginning of the latter 1260 years. With a continued application of imagery which (as I have already observed) is borrowed from the ancient Levitical Dispensation, the outer court of the temple and the holy city are said to be given up to a new

race of Gentiles or paganising apostates, whom the prophet is forbidden to measure; while the temple and the altar, with the two inner courts, are reserved for a race of faithful worshippers, whom he is charged to separate by mensuration from the more numerous tenants of the larger district¹. Now, that one and the same succession of men is intended by those who were sealed in the age of Constantine and by those who were measured at the commencement of the latter 1260 years, we may gather, both from the very reason of the thing itself, and from one of those links which St. John so artfully employs to chain together the various parallel parts of the Apocalypse. The measured worshippers of God are allegorically placed in the temple, which was built upon one of the eminences of mount Zion: and, in this same mount Zion, during the term of the same 1260 years, we afterward find the representatives of those 144,000 saints, who were first sealed or divided from their mere secular brethren in the peaceful age of Constantine².

The key to the present remarkable line of prophecy, which, extending from the age of Constantine to the very close of the latter 1260 years, announces the existence of a marked separation in the visible Church throughout the whole of that long period, will be found in the history of those Valenses and Albigenses, who afterward made so noble a confession during the lapse of the dark ages.

¹ Rev. xi. 1, 2.

² Compare Rev. vii. 1—8, with xi. 1, 2, and xiv. 1—5.

Struck with the rapid growth of secularity and superstition which characterised the time of the first Christian Emperor, their forefathers, with many other pious believers, judged it their duty to withdraw from a communion which had ceased to exhibit the genuine spirit of the Gospel. Even at that early period, they could trace the lineaments of the yet infant man of sin; for they were wont to say, that the then ruling Pope Sylvester was the son of perdition mentioned by St. Paul: and, as it was their avowed doctrine that from that epoch the Church perished or that the visible Church ceased to be the faithful spouse of Christ, they retired into the deep recesses of the mountains, and there upon the model of the primitive Church formed distinct societies of their own¹. Here, secluded from the world, these sealed servants of the Lord held fast a sound and spiritual profession of the faith, while the unsealed members of the visible Church were daily more and more degenerating into secularity and superstition. At length, the demonolatrous Apostasy was completed, and the period of the latter three times and a half commenced. Then it was,

¹ Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv, v. Pylicdorf. cont. Valdens. c. iv. p. 779. Fragment. Pylic. p. 815, 816. Seissel. Tract. adv. Valdens. fol. 5, cited by Bossuet. Script. Vetust. apud D'Acher. Spic. vol. xiii. cited by Allix. With respect to this very ancient opinion, that the man of sin began to germinate in the age of Constantine, compare its remarkable coincidence with what history has led me to remark relative to the epoch of the first budding of the little western horn from the head of the Roman beast. See above book iii. chap. 2. § IV. 2. (3.)

that the descendants and representatives of those, who had been sealed in the age of Constantine, were measured and yet more eminently set apart in the mystic temple and its inner courts; while the completely gentilised members of the visible Church, whose predecessors had been left unsealed in the age of Constantine, were now left unmeasured, and were suffered to occupy the outer court and the precincts of the holy city: then it was, that the two chosen witnesses began specially and definitely to prophesy in sackcloth: then it was, that the little horn of the West commenced its lawless career of ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution¹.

We may observe, that, as the general chronology of the prophecy fixes the sealing of the 144,000 saints to the age of Constantine, by making it immediately follow the last persecution of the pagan Empire; so the determinate language of the prophecy ascribes it to a season of profound peace and tranquillity. Four angels or ministers of God's purposes stand on the four corners of the earth, holding for a season the four winds and restraining their mischievous impetuosity. These four angels, however, are the appointed agents, to whom it is given in due time to injure the Roman earth and sea: and they are withheld from executing their task, only until the servants of God shall have been sealed in their foreheads. A short period of tranquillity is allotted for this work: and it compre-

¹ Rev. xi. 1—6. Dan. vii. 24, 25.

hends the much celebrated! though soon interrupted, tranquillity of the Constantinian age; that tranquillity, on which Eusebius and Lactantius dwell with so much triumphant pleasure¹. But, when the work of separation has been accomplished, all restraint is then taken off from the four destroying angels: and they appear again as the angels of the four first trumpets, under whose influence the Roman Empire is devastated or partitioned by the Gothic warriors of Germany and the Persian hosts of Chosroës.

The division, then, of the Church, into the two classes of the sealed and the unsealed, takes place in the peaceful age of Constantine: when, as Eusebius tells us, one of the reigning vices was the dissimulation and hypocrisy of men, fraudulently entering into the visible Church, and borrowing the name of Christians without the reality².

This same particular is noticed also by Daniel: for, in his last vision, he tells us, that, when the people of God shall be falling by the sword and by flame and by captivity and by spoil, they shall be holpen with a help which will spiritually prove to be no better than a little help, because many will cleave to them with flatteries³.

The exact prophetic epoch, when the sealing of the 144,000 saints may be viewed as commencing,

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. c. 1. Lactant. de mort. persecut. c. 1.

² Euseb. de vit. Constantin. lib. iv. c. 54.

³ Dan. xi. 34.

is one, as we shall hereafter find, of no small numerical importance. I fix it to the year 324 : when Constantine, now become sole Emperor of the Romans, publicly announced to the world, by a special edict, his own conversion to Christianity ; and when he thus made the religion of the Gospel the tempting and secularised religion of the court ¹.

(2.) Respecting the second specified particular, which takes place under the sixth seal in consequence of the downfall of Paganism, little needs to be said.

When the sword of persecution was wrested from the hand of the oppressor, and when the altars of his long-fostered superstition were overthrown ; then it was, that the people of God came out of great tribulation, having washed their robes, and having made them white in the blood of the Lamb. This circumstance, which is foretold in the latter portion of the vision of the sixth seal, is in fact no other than the natural and immediate consequence of that great theological revolution, which is the subject of the former portion of the same vision. In a word, when Paganism was subverted by Constantine as the established and dominant religion of the Empire, the persecution of Christianity by the heathen temporal powers ceased as a thing of course.

This change is set forth in that grandiloquent phraseology, which symbolical prophecy so much affects.

¹ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 321, 322. Gibbon's Hist. of the Decline, vol. iii. p. 252, 253.

As earthly revolutions, whether ecclesiastical or secular, are described, under the imagery of wild confusion in the host of heaven, and in terms therefore which would literally denote the final consummation of all things : so, analogically, the deliverance of the faithful from the horrors of persecution is represented as life from the dead, and is spoken of in terms which would literally denote the joys of the pious in heaven. This hyperbolical strain, however, is not so much a designed exaggeration, as the inevitable result of what may be denominated the hieroglyphical alphabet of prophecy. If rulers be symbolised by the heavenly bodies, great revolutions can only be described in language which at the first sight would appear to set forth the literal end of the world : and, if revolutions be thence described in language literally appropriate to the day of judgment, homogeneity and consistency will demand, that the liberation of the faithful from persecution through the medium of some such event should be exhibited under the imagery of what follows the day of judgment, that is to say, the entrance of the long-harassed saints into the beatific presence of God.

Hence, in the very nature of things, the language of figured prophecy must always be hyperbolical. Would we strip it of its apparent exaggeration, we should destroy the language itself : for, without such exaggeration, the language of symbols cannot subsist. We may avoid the hyperbole by refusing to employ the symbols, which if employed

will inevitably produce it : but, if we discard the symbols, the language, in undergoing this clumsy operation, loses its special characteristic and undergoes a complete metamorphosis. The exaggeration, indeed, exists no more : but, in ridding ourselves of the hyperbole, we have ceased to speak the language of hieroglyphics¹.

¹ I have been the more full on this topic, because some commentators, misled by the magnificence of the images contained in the hieroglyphical picture of the sixth seal, have contended, that by them we must certainly understand the awful solemnities of the final and literal day of judgment. The evil consequence of this error has been a complete confusion in the abstract arrangement of the Apocalypse. For, if the sixth seal relate to the literal day of judgment, it is obvious, that its five predecessors must be loosely spread over the long and indefinite period which *precedes* that day. Now, of such an arrangement, the plain inconvenience is ; that the seventh seal must inevitably be viewed, as chronologically *anterior* to the sixth seal : for, if the sixth seal brings us to the end of our present world, it is quite clear, that the seventh seal, being unable to advance any further, must of plain necessity *retrograde* in point of chronology. This single circumstance does, in my judgment, effectually subvert the arrangement before us. I will venture to say, indeed, that it is utterly impossible to bring out any consistent interpretation of the Apocalypse, if once we depart from the simple and intelligible and self-approved principle, that the three septenaries of the seals and the trumpets and the vials are chronologically successive to each other. This order *forbids* the application of the sixth seal to the literal consummation of all things : and, as every person knows who has paid the least attention to the figured language of prophecy, the mere magnificence of the imagery and the mere grandiloquence of the phraseology do in no wise *require* it.

CHAPTER IV.

RESPECTING THE SEVENTH APOCALYPTIC SEAL.

THE seventh seal, the seventh trumpet, and the seventh vial, contain each many more particulars than any one of the other seals or trumpets or vials : for the seventh seal comprehends, within its own chronological period, all the seven trumpets ; the seventh trumpet again comprehends, within its own smaller chronological period, all the seven vials ; and the seventh vial similarly comprehends, within its own still smaller chronological period, several matters of such high importance, that the prophet thinks it necessary to give a very ample and detailed account of them each in its own place and order. This circumstance has produced a peculiarity in the arrangement of the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet and the seventh vial, by which none of the others are characterised.

At the opening of the seventh seal, instead of passing immediately to that full description of its effects which is contained in the series of the seven trumpets, St. John presents us with what may be denominated a *summary* or *syllabus* or *brief prefatory table of contents* : that is to say, he gives us a compendious view of those matters, which are

afterward distributed into seven successive periods, marked by the sounding of seven successive trumpets. The same method is observed, when the sounding of the seventh trumpet is introduced: a syllabus or table of contents is first given; and, afterward, the matters, thus briefly enumerated, are described at large, being distributed into seven periods marked by the successive effusion of seven vials¹. In a similar manner, when the effusion of the seventh vial is introduced, a syllabus of contents is again briefly given: and, afterward, this short syllabus is expanded into an ample account of the most prominent events, contained within the period of the seventh vial; namely, the destruction of Babylon, the marriage of the Lamb, and the great battle of Armageddon².

The introductory syllabus of the seventh seal is couched in the following words.

And, when he opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven as it were half an hour. And I saw the seven angels, which stood before God: and to them were given seven trumpets. And another angel came, and was stationed at the altar, having a golden censer: and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer, with the prayers of all the saints, upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the

¹ The syllabus of the seventh trumpet is given in Rev. xi. 15—19.

² The syllabus of the seventh vial is given in Rev. xvi. 17—21.

smoke of the incense ascended, with the prayers of the saints, from the hand of the angel, before God. And the angel took the censer, and filled it from the fire of the altar, and cast to the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake. And the seven angels, which had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound ¹.

Since this passage, agreeably to the analogy of the seventh trumpet and the seventh vial, must be viewed as the introductory syllabus of the seventh seal; it will comprehend, in point of chronology, the whole period of that seal from its beginning to its end. Hence it will comprehend, not only the subordinate periods of the seven trumpets, but likewise that portion of time which elapses between the opening of the seventh seal and the sounding of the first trumpet: hence, likewise, it will comprehend all the secondary subordinate periods of the seven vials; because the seven vials are all comprehended within the period of the seventh trumpet, as the seventh trumpet itself with its six fellows is comprehended within the period of the seventh seal. Such being the case, as the passage before us is the summary or syllabus of the seventh seal, it will extend chronologically to the termination both of the seventh trumpet and of the seventh vial: for, as the seventh seal comprehends within its own

¹ Rev. viii. 1—6.

large period all the seven trumpets and thence likewise all the seven vials; it is manifest, that the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet and the seventh vial, though they *begin* at very different epochs, all *terminate* synchronically. Hence, the last specified event in the syllabus of the seventh seal will belong to the period of the seventh trumpet: and, since the seventh trumpet itself contains seven minor subordinate periods, the chronologically latest event of the seventh seal must belong, not only to the period of the seventh trumpet in general, but to the subordinate period of the seventh vial in particular. Now the last specified event in the syllabus of the seventh seal is the earthquake. This earthquake, therefore, must, from its chronological arrangement, be the earthquake, which, together with a great hail, is mentioned at the end of the syllabus of the seventh trumpet: and the earthquake, thus mentioned at the end of the syllabus of the seventh trumpet, must again be the earthquake, which, still together with a great hail, is mentioned in the syllabus of the seventh vial. Thus, from the circumstance of the seventh seal comprehending all the seven trumpets and the seventh trumpet comprehending all the seven vials, as *genus* includes *species* and as *species* again includes *sub-species*: from this circumstance we learn, that the three earthquakes, mentioned in the three syllabuses of the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet and the seventh vial, are one and the same allegorical

earthquake descriptive of one¹ and the same literal event¹.

These matters being premised, we may now advantageously proceed to consider the brief syllabus or table of contents which the prophet has given us of the seventh seal.

I. At the opening of the seventh seal, which of course is opened before any one of the subincluded trumpets begins to sound, there was silence, we are told, in heaven, as it were half an hour.

A prophetic half hour, if strictly interpreted, is equal to seven natural days and a half: but, lest we should imagine that so insignificant a period is here intended, St. John employs an expression, which he seems to use whenever he would intimate that he did not mean to be understood with absolute precision². The silence in heaven, at the opening of the seventh seal, does not continue *an exact half hour*, but *as it were half an hour*. Hence, I apprehend, we are not bound to perplex ourselves by seeking for a period of quiet in heaven, which shall last precisely seven natural days and a half: we are merely directed to measure this short time of quiet in the figurative heaven or temple of God, by what would be a corresponding short time

¹ Compare Rev. viii. 5. xi. 19, with xvi. 18.

² See Rev. x. 1. xiii. 3. xiv. 3. xv. 2. In Rev. xiii. 3, the seventh head of the wild-beast is not so absolutely wounded to death, as to be incapable of revival. Hence, I take it, the Apostle uses the qualifying expression *as it were*. Compare John i. 39. Mark v. 13. viii. 9. Luke iii. 23. Acts iv. 4.

of quiet in the literal temple at Jerusalem. Such being the case, since the antitype is usually larger than the type, in every dimension whether of time or place or circumstance, we may conclude, that this predicted half hour of silence in the allegorical temple of the Christian Church is equivalent to some few natural years ¹.

The silence, introduced by the seventh seal, is chronologically consecutive to the great ecclesiastical revolution introduced by the sixth seal. But that great ecclesiastical revolution was the downfall of Paganism and the establishment of Christianity. The silence, therefore, introduced by the seventh seal, chronologically succeeds this remarkable event. But the very commencement of silence in the figurative heaven or temple evidently implies, that the silence in question was preceded by disturbance: and, if the silence was preceded by disturbance, the silence and the disturbance must be mutually relative. So again: since the silence is limited to a very short term, such limitation evidently implies, that, when the term of silence shall have expired, it will be followed by a new disturbance: and, as the silence is thus both preceded and followed by disturbance, there must be a mutual relativeness between the first period of disturbance, the intervening short period of silence, and the second period

¹ The *poetical* machinery of the silence is borrowed from the Jewish ritual. While the incense was offering, the people, for a short season, prayed *silently* without.

of disturbance. Now the disturbance, which prevented silence or quiet in the figurative heaven of the Christian Church anterior to the great ecclesiastical revolution of the sixth seal, was the almost incessant persecution of Paganism. Hence the silence in the seventh seal, which follows the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixth seal as effect follows cause, must denote the liberation of the Church from pagan persecution : and, analogically, on the same principle, the renewal of disturbance at the expiration of the short silence must denote some renewal of pagan persecution to which the Church should be exposed.

These matters being thus established in the abstract, it will be easy to apply the prediction to its corresponding period of history and thence to obtain the date of the opening of the seventh seal.

The ecclesiastical revolution of the sixth seal commenced, as we have seen, with the famous edict of Milan in the year 313 : and this revolution, by putting an end to the disturbance of pagan persecution, introduced that short period of silence in the Church which begins when the seventh seal is opened. What, then, is the epoch, where history directs us to fix its commencement ?

The conquest of Italy, says Mr. Gibbon, produced a general edict of toleration : and, as soon as the defeat of Licinius had invested Constantine with the sole dominion of the Roman world, he immediately, by circular letters, exhorted all his subjects to imitate without delay the example

*of their sovereign and to embrace the divine truth of Christianity*¹.

This happened in the year 324 : in that year, therefore, silence, or complete freedom from pagan persecution, commenced in the Church ; and, consequently, in that year also the seventh seal was opened.

Hence it appears, that the seventh seal is opened synchronically with the commencement of the second portion of the sixth seal² ; the period of the sixth seal wrapping over or running into the period of the seventh seal, agreeably to the principle of arrangement which has already been laid down³ : consequently, the period of silence commences synchronically with the coërcion of the four winds of the earth and the sealing of the 144,000 mystic Israelites.

But this silence in the Church, which began in the year 324, is described as being only of short continuance : the space as it were of half an hour elapses ; and then the silence terminates, and the ancient disturbance recommences.

Such is the prediction : and the event exactly corresponds with it. In the year 361, Julian, usually denominated *the Apostate*, mounted the throne of the Roman world : and he forthwith put an end to the silence in the figurative heaven by renewing,

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. iii. p. 252.

² See above book iv. chap. 3. § II. 2.

³ See above book iv. chap. 1. § II. 2.

under a modified and more artful form, the briefly interrupted disturbance of pagan persecution. An historian, who has selected this fanatical idolater for his favourite hero, has stated, at considerable length, the system which he adopted for the purpose of blotting out the name of Christianity; a system of oppression and tyranny and bloodshed, rendered doubly offensive by an hypocritical affectation of philosophic clemency¹. Such a system, when carried into execution, effectually disturbed the silence and quiet of the Church: *the whole Empire, and particularly the East, was thrown into confusion by the rash edicts of Julian: the pagans abused, without prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity: and the unhappy objects of their cruelty were released from torture only by death*².

II. When the short silence in the Church is broken by the renewal of pagan persecution, the seven appointed angels receive their seven trumpets: but, for a season, they are withheld from sounding by the circumstance of another angel offering up much incense, with the prayers of all saints, upon the golden altar before the throne. Of this incense the smoke, we are told, ascended before God out of the angel's hand, mingled with the general prayers of the saints. Yet, notwithstanding the prayers were thus heard and accepted, they could obtain only a short delay of the calamities

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. iv. p. 109—135.

² Hist. of Decline, vol. iv. p. 116, 124.

which impended over the Empire. For we are forthwith taught, that the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire from the altar, and cast to the earth: the consequence of which action was, that there were voices and thunderings and lightnings and an earthquake.

With the first of the seven trumpets, as we shall hereafter see, commence *largely* and *permanently* those Gothic invasions of the Empire, which produced at length its partition and dismemberment.

In the year 361, when the period of silence expired, the seven angels received their trumpets, and the first angel held himself ready to sound. But he was stayed for a season by the intercession of the Church, which, as it is well known, ceased not to pray for the safety and duration of the Roman Empire¹. In the year 365, the Alemanni invaded

¹ One special reason, why the Church from the very first prayed for the perpetuity and preservation of the Roman Empire, was the ancient persuasion, that, when the Empire should be removed, the man of sin would forthwith appear. On this point, Tertullian is express.

Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro Imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu Imperii, rebusque Romanis, quod vim maximam, universo orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausuram sæculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem, Romani Imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Itaque nolumus experiri: et, dum precamur differri, Romanæ diuturnitati favemus. Tertull. Apol. adv. gent. Oper., p. 869.

Again, in the same tractate, he mentions the offering up of prayers for the constituted authorities of the Roman Empire, as being the ordinary practice of the Church.

Gaul without success : and the Gothic war, which commenced in the year 366, was but too plain an omen of what might be expected when the sound of the first trumpet should call into serious and decisive action the warriors of the north. Yet, for a brief space of time, the threatening angel was arrested : nor did he begin to sound, until the Gothic nations precipitated themselves into the devoted Empire upon the death of the great Theodosius.

III. At the close of the respite thus procured for the Roman world by the fervent prayers of all the saints, the incense-offering angel takes the censer, and fills it with fire from the altar, and casts to the earth : the immediate effect of which is, that there are voices and thunderings and lightnings and an earthquake.

According to the construction of the original Greek, the angel does not throw *the censer* down upon the earth, but *the burning coals from the altar* with which he had filled it. Now the apocalyptic earth denotes the Roman Empire. Here then, in the syllabus of the seventh seal, commence those terrible calamities, which are afterward methodically arranged within the seven periods of the seven trumpets. To give any thing like a distinct enumeration of them in a purposely brief summary, were plainly impossible. The prophet, therefore,

Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Ibid. p. 876.

To these prayers of the Church, the apostolic prophet, if I mistake not, here alludes.

mentions them collectively under the general appellation of *voices* and *thunderings* and *lightnings*. But, that this mode of arrangement may be clearly understood, he subjoins, to the long-enduring calamities thus generally described, the additional circumstance of *an earthquake*; carefully and studiously placing it *the last* in his enumeration. By such management he teaches us, that, while the voices and thunderings and lightnings belong indiscriminately to the periods of the six first trumpets, the earthquake, with which the seventh seal concludes, must be sought within the period of the seventh trumpet alone, *because* the seventh seal concludes with it: and, again, by the same management he teaches us, that the concluding earthquake of the seventh seal must not only be sought within the period of the seventh trumpet, as being *the last* of the seven chief periods into which the term of the seventh seal is divided; but that it must likewise be sought within the period of the seventh vial, as being *the last* of the seven minor periods into which the chief period of the seventh trumpet is subdivided. For, since the period of the seventh trumpet is the last chief period of the seventh seal, and since the period of the seventh vial is the last of those smaller periods into which the seventh trumpet is subdivided: we must plainly look for the earthquake, which is the last event specified in the syllabus of the seventh seal, not only in the period of the seventh trumpet as generally considered, but likewise in the period of the seventh

vial as being the ultimate period of the seventh trumpet. Accordingly, by a regular descent from *genus* to *species* and from *species* to *sub-species*, as Achan was detected of old, first by the lot falling upon his tribe, next by the lot falling upon his family included within his tribe, and lastly by the lot falling upon the particular household of his father included within his family at large¹: so that mighty earthquake, by which Babylon is at length overthrown, is first determined to belong to the period of the seventh seal, next to the period of the seventh trumpet included within the seventh seal, and lastly to the period of the seventh vial included within the seventh trumpet².

¹ Josh. vii. 16—18.

² Rev. viii. 5. xi. 19. xvi. 18.

CHAPTER V.

RESPECTING THE APOCALYPTIC THIRD PART.

WITH the septenary of the trumpets commences the frequent use of a phrase, not hitherto employed in the Apocalypse. It will be necessary, therefore, to ascertain its import, ere we can satisfactorily proceed in the labour of exposition.

The phrase, to which I allude, is THE THIRD PART¹. Thus, under the first trumpet, we read of *the third part of the earth and the trees*; under the second trumpet, of *the third part of the sea and the fishes*; under the third trumpet, of *the third part of the rivers and fountains*; under the fourth trumpet, of *the third part of the heavenly bodies*; and, under the sixth trumpet, of *the third part of men*: while again, in the vision of the mystic woman and her child, the dragon is said to draw down from heaven *the third part of the stars*.

I. For the right understanding of this phrase we must observe, that, throughout the Apocalypse, the Roman Ecumenè or World or Empire is symbolised by the natural world. Hence it is furnished with its earth or its geographical platform, with its sea or its inhabitants viewed as thrown into a state of

¹ Gr. τὸ τρίτον.

war and revolution, with its rivers or its component kingdoms, and with its heavenly luminaries or governing powers¹.

If, then, the world be the Roman Empire, a third part of the world must denote a third part of the Roman Empire. The fractional expression, however, of *a third part*, implies a triple division of the Roman World. We have to inquire, therefore, what are those three portions of the Empire, to which the phrase in question alludes².

1. Commentators are very generally and very reasonably agreed, that at least the three first trumpets relate to the subversion of the Roman Imperial Dignity in the Western or Latin Empire, the proper seat of which is the European continent.*

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (1.)

² It is worthy of remark, that, as the Roman Empire, after the absorption of its three predecessors, becomes the *entire* prophetic universe, and in that capacity admits of a division into three parts: so, when viewed with immediate reference to the three preceding Empires, it is considered only as *a fourth part* of the earth, and is accordingly so described by the apocalyptic prophet himself. Rev. vi. 8. See above book iv. chap. ii. § II. 4. The idea I take to be precisely the same, as that which pervades the arrangement of the great metallic image. Under one aspect, the Roman Empire is geographically equivalent to the *entire* image: under another aspect, it is only *one fourth part* of it. A similar remark applies to the seven-headed wild-beast of the Apocalypse. It unites in one symbol all the four beasts of Daniel's vision: whence, in its composition, it is analogous to the metallic image. Such being the case, the Roman Empire is either the *whole* wild-beast or only *a fourth part* of him, according to the aspect under which it is viewed.

Hence the third part of the Roman world, which is affected by the three first trumpets, must be the Latin Empire of the West.

2. If, then, the Latin Empire be one third part of the entire Roman World, the Greek or Eastern Empire will obviously be viewed as another third part.

Accordingly, in the oracle of the fourth trumpet, the ruling powers of the Greek Empire (for the Imperial Dignity had now been overturned in the West) are described, as being the third part of the heavenly bodies : and again, in the oracle of the sixth trumpet, under which the Greek Monarchy is overturned by the agency of the Euphratèan horse-men, the political death of that Monarchy is styled *the slaughter of the third part of men*.

3. We have now only to ascertain the remaining third part : and this, since the Western Latin Empire and the Eastern Greek Empire are each a third part of the entire Roman World, must plainly be composed of the Southern Provinces which were situated in the continent of Africa.

The last third part, though necessary to complete arithmetically the integral number, was never the seat of government ; but was always dependent upon the two others : hence, as such, it is never specially mentioned in the Apocalypse. But the Empire of the West and the Empire of the East, having each become an independent sovereignty, were, in that capacity, fit subjects for prophetic notice.

II. This phrase of THE THIRD PART is never used in the Apocalypse, until we reach the period of the first trumpet. We may be sure, therefore, from the very reason of the thing, that some event occurred immediately before the sounding of that trumpet, which rendered the frequent subsequent use of the phrase both necessary and proper.

Nor shall we find ourselves mistaken in this persuasion. The circumstance in question was the death of the great Theodosius. To speak in the words of a celebrated historian, *the genius of Rome expired with Theodosius, the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the Empire*¹. On the death of this warlike prince, the Roman World was finally and permanently divided into the two independent Empires of the East and the West, while the Southern Provinces of Africa remained subject either to the one or to the other of them. Henceforth, therefore, a new phraseology became necessary. *Hitherto*, the *whole* Empire had been the general stage of action : but *now* the prophet has to describe *separately* the fortunes of two independent portions of it. From this cause originated the expression of THE THIRD PART, which hereafter so frequently occurs in the Apocalypse.

¹ Hist. of the Decline, vol. v. p. 137.

CHAPTER VI.

RESPECTING THE FOUR FIRST APOCALYPTIC TRUMPETS.

THE quaternion of the four first 'trumpets stands broadly distinguished from the triad of the three last: for the four first are plainly homogeneous in their style and arrangement; while the three last are associated together in a single class, as introducing three eminent woes.

Commentators are almost universally agreed, that the four first trumpets relate to the downfall of the Roman Power in the West: and I think them perfectly right in their *general* opinion relative to the first and the second and the third, though I conceive them to have erred in their application of the fourth.

Yet, while all are agreed that the downfall of the Roman Power in the West is at least the most prominent subject of the prophecy, it is remarkable, that scarcely any two expositors concur as to the division of that subject among the several trumpets which are supposed to relate to it. The *general* result brought out is, indeed, the subversion of the Western Empire: but the *particular* steps, by which it is arrived at this result, are as multifarious and discordant as can well be imagined.

'So curious a circumstance, the opprobrium as it

may well be deemed of apocalyptic interpretation, may naturally lead us to suspect, either that the true key to the proper *distinct* application of the four first trumpets has never yet been found, or if found that it has never yet been satisfactorily used.

The common plan of exposition has been this. From the chronological arrangement of the Apocalypse it is rightly enough laid down, as a leading position, that the fall of the Roman Power in the West must here be predicted. This leading position being very justly assumed as an undoubted truth, the next matter, to be effected, is the proper distribution of the history of that period among the trumpets which are supposed collectively to announce the fall of the Western Roman Power. Here we plainly require a key: and yet commentators have usually gone to work, without so much as even attempting to find one. The consequence has been exactly what might have been anticipated. With the most complete disagreement of application, this portion and that portion of history has been arranged under this trumpet and that trumpet, purely according to the humour of each expositor and without a shadow of what may be called *scientific principle*. Hence, though the *general* result brought out is the same, namely the downfall of the Western Empire, scarce any two commentators perfectly accord in the interpretation of each *separate* trumpet.

Sir Isaac Newton forms an illustrious exception to that great body of writers, who have worked in

the dark because they have worked without any scientific principle. With his usual almost intuitive sagacity, he discovered the key: but, with that singular failure which marks the greatest portion of his expository labours, he misused it when discovered.

The four first trumpet-bearing angels are plainly those four angels, who, at the commencement of the second portion of the sixth seal, are stationed on the four cardinal points of the world.

This identity is proved by the identity of the task assigned to each quaternion. The office of the four first trumpet-bearing angels is to hurt the allegorical earth and the allegorical sea and the allegorical trees of the Roman world by the grievous plagues which they bring upon them ¹. But the office of the four angels, who are stationed on the four cardinal points of the world, is the very same: for their office is equally to hurt the allegorical earth and the allegorical sea and the allegorical trees of the Roman world by letting loose upon them the four winds ². Therefore, the four first trumpet-bearing angels, and the four angels stationed on the four cardinal points, are the same.

Such a conclusion is confirmed and established by the chronological relation of the two passages, where these two quaternions of angels are severally mentioned. The commencement of the second portion

¹ Rev. viii. 7—12.

² Rev. vii. 1—3.

of the sixth seal synchronises, as we have seen, with the opening of the seventh seal; each of these apocalyptic epochs coinciding with the year 324¹. Now, at the commencement of the second portion of the sixth seal, and therefore at the synchronical opening of the seventh seal, the four angels, whose office it is to hurt the allegorical earth and sea and trees of the Roman world, are restrained for a season from performing their task: for they are forbidden to let loose the four destroying winds, until the servants of God shall have been sealed in their foreheads, or until a marked division shall have been made between the truly spiritual and the merely secular members of the now established Church. Accordingly, when these four angels appear again as the four first trumpet-bearing angels, the whole period of silence, with which the seventh seal commences, has expired: and, even after the expiration of that period, a certain time is consumed in their self-preparation, ere they begin to sound their trumpets and to hurt the allegorical earth and sea and trees. Consequently, they are restrained for an indefinite space after the opening of the seventh seal: nor do they successively let loose the four winds, until they successively begin to sound their four trumpets.

Thus evidently, as Sir Isaac Newton well judged, are the four first trumpet-bearing angels the same as the four angels stationed on the four cardinal points of the world.

¹ See above book iv. chap. 3. § 11. 2. chap. 4. § I.

Now this identification at once puts into our hand the key to the right arrangement of the four first trumpets, in regard to their true connection with history. If the four first trumpet-bearing angels be the same, as the four angels stationed on the four cardinal points of the compass : then the injuries, which they bring upon the Roman Empire, must come from those four cardinal points ; because they are allegorically described by the furious blowing of the four opposite winds of heaven. Hence it is clear, that no interpretation of the four first trumpets can be tolerated, which does not severally bring the plagues inflicted by them from the four cardinal points of the North and the South and the East and the West.

This was distinctly perceived by Sir Isaac Newton : and, accordingly, with much sound judgment in the abstract, he frames his exposition of the four first trumpets upon this strictly scientific principle. But, happy as he has been in the discovery of the true key, he has not been equally felicitous in the use of it.

Without the least regard to the poetical decorum of the imagery, he makes the first trumpet introduce the plague of the *east wind* ; because, upon the death of Theodosius, the Goths and other northern tribes invaded and wasted the *Greek or Eastern Empire*. Hail, however, the characteristic plague of the first trumpet, is generated, not in the *east*, but in the *north* : and, though the *Eastern Empire* might be injured by the Goths,

the Goths descended into it from the *north* or from the seat of the *north-wind*, not from the *east* or from the seat of the *east-wind*.

With a similar disregard to propriety, he makes the second trumpet introduce the plague of the *west-wind*; because the *Western Empire* was invaded by the Goths and Vandals and Alans and those other Scythian nations who at length divided it into ten kingdoms. Here again, though the *Western Empire* was desolated and partitioned by the fierce warriors of Germany; an attack, which was made from the *north*, cannot possibly be the plague of the *west-wind*.

Exactly the same objection applies to his supposition, that the plague of the *south-wind* is introduced by the third trumpet; because the Vandals and Alans invaded the *southern provinces of Africa* from Spain. These conquerors, when they reduced Africa, came from the *north* or the *north-west*: in such a line of march, therefore, they cannot be esteemed the plague of the *south-wind*.

Nor is he more happy in making the fourth trumpet introduce the plague of the *north-wind*; on the ground, that *Rome and Italy* were successively harassed and conquered by the Ostrogoths and the Greeks and the Lombards. Three varied attacks from the *north* and from the *east* answer not to the character of the *north-wind*.

I need scarcely remark, that the general fault of Sir Isaac's arrangement is a most singular mistake which runs through the whole of it.

A wind, which blows upon the *Eastern Empire*, he calls an *east-wind*: a wind, which blows upon the *Western Empire*, he calls a *west-wind*: a wind, which blows upon *Southern Africa*, he calls a *south-wind*: and a wind, which blows upon *Northern Italy*, he calls a *north-wind*.

But, as this is not the true physiological description of a wind, it cannot, I think, express the meaning of the prophecy¹.

An east-wind *may*, no doubt, blow *upon* the Eastern Empire; but a wind, which blows *upon* the Eastern Empire, is not *therefore*, of necessity, an east-wind: on the contrary, the east-wind is that wind, which exclusively blows *from* the east. In like manner, a west-wind certainly *may* blow *upon* the Western Empire; but a wind, which blows *upon* the Western Empire, is not *therefore*, of necessity, a west-wind: on the contrary, the west-wind is that wind which blows exclusively *from* the west. Sir Isaac, however, wholly disregards the point of the compass, *from* which a wind blows, and which thence gives it its appropri-

¹ I may add, that, even if it *were* a true physiological description of a wind, an objection would still lie against Sir Isaac Newton's arrangement. His east-wind blows on the Eastern Empire: his west-wind, on the Western Empire: his south-wind, on Southern Africa: his north-wind, on Northern Italy. Such being the case, it is obvious, that Italy is reckoned *twice* in the account, and *that* moreover under two entirely different geographical aspects: the first time, as the chief member of the Western Empire; the second time, as the Northern Region of the Empire with reference to Southern Africa.

ate distinctive appellation: for, by a most extraordinary error, he speaks of a wind, as being an east-wind or a west-wind or a south-wind or a north-wind, according as, by the act of blowing upon them, it affects the east or the west or the south or the north¹.

Having now obtained the true key to the exposition of the four first trumpets, we shall soon find that it will open these four oracles in most curious accordance with the testimony of history.

I. The first angel sounded: and there were produced hail and fire mingled with blood; and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of the earth was parched up; and the third part of the trees was parched up; and all the green grass was parched up².

In the language of symbols, a hail-storm mingled with lightning and blood denotes a tempest of desolating war and foreign invasion. But the four plagues, introduced by the four first trumpets, proceed from the four opposite cardinal points of the compass. Therefore, from some one of those points, the hail-storm of the first trumpet must proceed. Hence the question is, from *which* of them it descends upon the Roman World.

1. According to the physiological decorum of the symbol, the plague of the first trumpet must be the plague of the north-wind; because hail and snow

¹ Observ. on the Apoc. chap. iii. p. 295—303.

² Rev. viii. 7.

and ice are generated in the frozen region of the north.

This supposition, which so obviously springs from the mere machinery of the prophecy alone, is converted into absolute certainty by the interpreting voice of history. The first serious injury, which the Roman Empire received after the downfall of Paganism under the sixth seal, was by the furious and reiterated attacks of the Goths and various other warlike nations from the whole frontier of the north.

Thus have we doubly ascertained, both from the decorum of the symbol and from the concurring voice of history, that the plague of the first trumpet is the plague of the north-wind. Hence it will plainly follow, that *every* attack from the north, which is made upon the Roman Empire subsequent to the commencement of the first trumpet, must be viewed as a portion of the great hail-storm which that trumpet introduces.

2. The remarks, which have already been made upon the apocalyptic THIRD PART, will lead us, I apprehend, to the true date of the first trumpet.

Since this trumpet is described, as injuring indeed the *entire* Roman earth, but as absolutely parching up a *third part* of it; the final division of the Empire, alluded to by the phrase in question, must have taken place *before* the sounding of the first trumpet: because this division, which is alluded to in the oracle of the first trumpet, certainly could not be alluded to, *before* it was effect-

ed. Now the division, which had already become familiar in theory, was finally and irrevocably made upon the death of Theodosius, the last Roman Prince *whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the Empire*. His two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, stand respectively the first of the two lines of Greek and Latin Emperors: and in this divided state the Empire continued, without (as was formerly the case) a speedy coalescing of its severed parts, until its western portion was conquered and parcelled out by the warriors of the north. But Theodosius died, and the Empire was finally divided, in the year 395. Therefore the first trumpet cannot have begun to sound *previous* to that year¹.

In such a conclusion, we are fully warranted by the testimony of history. The Gothic nations indeed, from the very time of Constantine, had been almost perpetually at war with the Romans: but, though often threatening to overwhelm them by repeatedly violating the long extent of the northern frontier, they were latterly restrained from effecting their purpose by the sole genius of Theodosius. Until he was removed by the hand of death, the fury of the allegorical north-wind was holden, that it should not blow, with a mingled tempest of hail and fire and blood, upon the Roman World. *As the impatient Goths, says the historian, could only be restrained by the firm and temperate cha-*

¹ See above book iv. chap. 5. § II.

*racter of Theodosius; the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man*¹.

The death of this warlike prince did, in fact, prove the signal, for the blast of the first trumpet, and for the commencement of the symbolical hail-storm of the north. Scarcely was he laid in his grave, and scarcely had the Empire been finally divided between his two sons, when the tempest began to rage.

3. With respect to the operation of the great northern hail-storm, we must observe, that it falls indiscriminately upon the *whole* earth, but yet that a *third part* only of the earth is parched up by it.

The import of this prediction is no less plain, than its accomplishment has been minutely accurate. It was on the *whole* Roman Empire, in *all* its three divisions, that the tempest of northern invasion impetuously descended : but it was the *western third part* alone, that was permanently burned or parched up by it. The East recovered from the effects of the storm ; and the Gothic hailstones soon melted away upon the sunny coast of Africa, leaving behind them not a trace of Scythian domination : but the West was finally lost to the Roman sceptre ; the hail never melted away from its surface ; the Latin Empire was first desolated and then partitioned by those northern warriors, whose descendants even at the present hour are the undisputed lords of its territory.

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. iv. p. 443.

4. To the descent of the northern hail-storm upon the whole earth or upon the entire Roman Empire, history bears a most ample testimony : and we may remark, that, agreeably to the analogy of nature, it was divided into four tempests, severally directed by Alaric and Rhaſagast and Genserich and Attila.

(1.) *If the subjects of Rome, I borrow the voice of the historian, could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodosius, they were too soon convinced, how painfully the spirit and abilities of their deceased Emperor had supported the frail and mouldering edifice of the Republic. He died in the month of January: and, before the end of the winter of the same year, the Gothic nation was in arms. The barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard; and boldly avowed the hostile designs, which they had long cherished in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned by the conditions of the last treaty to a life of tranquillity and labour, deserted their farms at the first sound of the trumpet, and eagerly resumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open: the savage warriors of Scythia issued from their forests: and the uncommon severity of the winter allowed the poet to remark, that they rolled their ponderous waggons over the broad and icy back of the indignant river.*

Instead of being impelled by the blind and

headstrong passions of their chiefs, the Goths were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. That renowned leader disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia: and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province, which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war. The fertile fields of Phocis and Boeotia were instantly covered by a deluge of barbarians; who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females with the spoil and cattle of the flaming villages. The travellers, who visited Greece several years afterward, could easily discover the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Goths: and Thebes was less indebted for her preservation to the strength of her seven gates, than to the eager haste of Alaric who advanced to occupy the city of Athens. From the promontory of Sunium to the town of Megara, the whole territory of Attica was blasted by his baleful presence: Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without resistance to the arms of the Goths: and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved by death from beholding the slavery of their families and the conflagration of their cities¹.

Having thus ravaged Greece, this first tempest of the symbolical hail-storm was next carried into Italy and the West. Under the guidance of the

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. v. p. 176—182.

same powerful leader, now proclaimed King of the Visigoths, it passed over Pannonia, Istria, and Venetia; and threatened the destruction of imperial Rome herself. At length it was driven out of Italy by Stilicho. But, upon the death of that general, it soon began to beat afresh: the Gothic sovereign again invaded Italy: and the seven-hilled city, after three successive sieges, was pillaged and sacked by the warriors of the north¹.

(2.) Meanwhile, another *dark cloud*, as the historian unconsciously speaks in the figured language of prophecy, generated like its fellow in the cold regions of northern Europe, *burst in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube*, and thence passed into Italy².

Headed by Rhadagast, the Germans, in the year 406, emigrated from their native land, besieged Florence, and threatened Rome. Stilicho was again victorious: but the remnant of the vanquished host was still sufficient to invade and desolate the province of Gaul. *The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like those of the Tiber, with elegant houses and well cultivated farms. This scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert; and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolations of man. The flourishing city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed; and*

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. v. p. 186—204, 250—329.

² Hist. of Decline, vol. v. p. 214.

many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred in the church. Worms perished, after a long and obstinate siege; Strasburgh, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke: and the consuming flames of war, spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians; who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars¹.

(3.) While the East and the West were thus harassed by Alaric and Rhadagast, the South was destined to suffer under the merciless ferocity of Genseric.

In the year 409, Spain was overrun and ravaged by the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alans; who were afterward, in their turn, compelled to submit to the arms of the Goths². The Vandals, however, still prevailed in Gallicia: and, in order (as it were) that no part of the Roman earth should escape the devastating influence of the northern hail-storm, they soon afterward invaded the African provinces. In the year 429, they crossed the strait of Gibraltar under the command of Genseric, invited by the mistaken policy of Boniface. At that period, the

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. v. p. 225.

² Hist. of Decline, vol. v. p. 350—355.

African coast was extremely populous : and the country itself was so fruitful, that it deserved and obtained the name of the common granary of Rome and mankind. *On a sudden, the seven provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Vandals. War, in its fairest form, implies a perpetual violation of humanity and justice : and the hostilities of barbarians are inflamed by the fierce and lawless spirit, which incessantly disturbs their peaceful and domestic society. The Vandals, where they found resistance, seldom gave quarter : and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities, under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions of age or sex or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture to force from the captives a discovery of their hidden wealth. The stern policy of Genseric justified his frequent examples of military execution : he was not always the master of his own passions or of those of his followers : and the calamities of war were aggravated, by the licentiousness of the Moors, and the fanaticism of the Donatists*¹.

(4.) With these three tempests, which form so many constituent parts of the great northern hail-storm, yet a fourth was soon perceived to mingle itself. The Hungarian monarch Attila, having united in his own person the two Empires of Scy-

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 12.—21.

thia and Germany, soon turned his arms against the declining power of the Romans.

In the year 441, he invaded the Eastern Empire. *The Illyrian frontier was covered by a line of castles and fortresses : and, though part of them consisted only, of a single tower with a small garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel or to intercept the inroads of any enemy, who was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the delay, of a regular siege. But these obstacles were instantly swept away by the inundation of the Huns. They destroyed with fire and sword the populous cities of Sirmium and Singidunum, of Retiaria and Marcianopolis, of Naissus and Sardica ; where every circumstance, in the discipline of the people and the construction of the buildings, had been gradually adapted to the sole purpose of defence. The whole breadth of Europe, as it extends above five hundred miles from the Euxine to the Adriatic, was at once invaded, and occupied, and desolated, by the myriads of barbarians whom Attila led into the field. The armies of the Eastern Empire were vanquished in three successive engagements : and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Heraclea and Hadrianople might perhaps escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns : but words,*

*the most expressive of total extirpation and erasure, are applied to the calamities, which they inflicted on seventy cities of the Eastern Empire*¹.

A pause, at length, seemed to take place : but it was a passing semblance, rather than a permanent reality. In the year 446, the Constantinopolitan Emperor concluded an ignominious peace with Attila : but, in the year 450, the restless Hun threatened alike both the East and the West. *Mankind awaited his decision with awful suspense.* The tempest, however, now burst over Gaul and Italy. After ravaging the former of these countries with savage barbarity, Attila turned his arms toward the seat of the Western Empire. Aquileia made a vigorous, but ineffectual, resistance : and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover its ruins. The victorious barbarian *pursued his march : and, as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced to heaps of stones and ashes. The inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns :* the rich plains of modern Lombardy were laid waste : and the ferocious Attila boasted, that *the grass never grew on the spot where his horse had trod*².

5. But, though the northern hail-storm thus beat upon the *whole* Roman earth, a *third part* of

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 45—53.

² Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 87—135.

that earth alone was parched up by its continuance. The hail-storms formed a thick and permanent lodgment in the Western Empire only. From this portion of the figurative world they were never removed : and many ages of war and darkness followed, during which the fruits of peace and science and civilisation were completely blasted and burned up.

History, then, bears witness, that the effects of the hail-storm or the plague of the north-wind were these. The Roman earth was dreadfully desolated by it in *all* its three divisions : but, while the Eastern Empire recovered itself from the visitation, and while the Vandalic kingdom soon melted away in Africa, the Western Empire was permanently occupied and parcelled out into various sovereignties by the victorious warriors of the North.

II. *And the second angel sounded : and as it were a great mountain, burning with fire, was cast into the sea. And the third part of the sea became blood : and the third part of the creatures in the sea, which had life, died : and the third part of the ships was destroyed*¹.

The hail-storm of the first trumpet, agreeably both to the decorum of the symbol and to the testimony of history, is the plague of the north-wind : the burning mountain of the second trumpet, therefore, must be the plague of a wind, which blows from some other cardinal point of the compass.

¹ Rev. viii. 8, 9.

Here again, both the machinery of the hieroglyphic, and the voice of the historian, will teach us, that the second trumpet introduces the plague of the south-wind.

1. I have observed, that the plague of each wind is a calamity which befalls the Roman Empire from the corresponding point of the compass. Such being the case, before we can proceed satisfactorily in the discussion, we must consider, both the state in which the first trumpet found the Empire, and the state in which it left it.

Now, when the first trumpet began to sound, the Empire was *entire*. Consequently, the plague of the north-wind must come, not only from the north, but from a region *beyond* the limits of the hitherto unbroken Empire.

The operation, however, of this trumpet left the Empire in a very different state from what it found it in : for it found the Empire *entire* ; but it left it *broken and dismembered*. Hence the plagues of the three succeeding trumpets will have a much smaller platform to beat upon, than the plague of the first trumpet possessed ; because the Empire, in point of size, was now greatly diminished : and hence any future plague, which beats upon Italy or Greece from the south or from the west, though it must doubtless come in the direction of the south-wind or the west-wind, *may* come, and in the case of the west-wind *must* come, from a region *within* the limits of the original unbroken Empire. Thus, when the African provinces were torn from the

Empire by the operation of the first trumpet, they became a proper region whence the south-wind might blow upon the remains of the Empire in Italy and Greece : and thus, when the western provinces were similarly rent from the Empire, they became the only region whence it was *possible* for the west-wind to blow upon what remained of the Empire ; for, *beyond* those provinces toward the west, there was nothing save the Atlantic ocean.

This distinction must be carefully borne in mind, while the plagues of the second and third trumpets are discussed.

‘ 2. As the poetical imagery of the hail-storm is borrowed from the physiology of the north, so is that of the burning mountain borrowed from the physiology of the south.

By the operation of the first trumpet, the African provinces were rent away from the Empire. Consequently, the leading symbol of the second trumpet is to be sought, not to the south of the African provinces, but only to the south of the Roman Empire in Europe : and, analogously, the south-wind must be viewed as blowing, not from the heart of Africa, but from the now dismembered African provinces themselves.

On this obvious principle, the prototype of the burning mountain, so far as the *poetical* machinery of the oracle is concerned, is clearly the volcano of Etna, which lies directly to the south of Italy. When the second trumpet sounds, the prophet beholds, not merely an irruption of the mountain,

but the very mountain itself heaved from its base and precipitated with all its fires into the sea. The consequence is, that a third part of the ships, which navigate the mediterranean lake (the undoubted *poetical* sea of the apocalyptic machinery) is destroyed by the vast explosion; while a third part of the fishes perish, and while a third part of the water is tinged with their blood.

3. Thus does the imagery of the symbol direct our attention to a country lying south of Italy: and the attestation of history will shew the strict propriety and curious accuracy, with which this imagery has been selected.

The loss or desolation of the provinces, from the ocean to the Alps, impaired the glory and greatness of Rome: her internal prosperity was irretrievably destroyed by the separation of Africa. The rapacious Vandals confiscated the patrimonial estates of the senators, and intercepted the regular subsidies which relieved the poverty and encouraged the idleness of the plebeians. The distress of the Romans was soon aggravated by an unexpected attack: and the province, so long cultivated for their use by industrious and obedient subjects, was armed against them by an ambitious barbarian. The Vandals and Alani, who followed the successful standard of Genseric, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which stretched along the coast above ninety days journey from Tangier to Tripoli: but their narrow limits were pressed and confined,

on either side, by the sandy desert and the Mediterranean. The discovery and conquest of the black nations, that might dwell beneath the torrid zone, could not tempt the rational ambition of Genseric : but he cast his eyes toward the sea ; he resolved to create a naval power ; and his bold resolution was executed with steady and active perseverance. The woods of mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber : his new subjects were skilled in the arts of navigation and ship-building : he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare, which would render every maritime country accessible to their arms : the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder : and, after an interval of six centuries, the fleets, that issued from the port of Carthage, again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The kingdom of Italy, a name to which the Western Empire was gradually reduced, was afflicted by the incessant depredations of the Vandal pirates. In the spring of each year, they equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage : and Genseric himself, though in a very advanced age, still commanded in person the most important expeditions. His designs were concealed with impenetrable secrecy, till the moment that he hoisted sail. When he was asked by his pilot, what course he should steer ; Leave the determination to the winds, replied the barbarian with pious arrogance : THEY will transport us to the guilty coast whose

inhabitants have provoked the divine justice. *The Vandals repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily: they were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean: and their arms spread desolation or terror, from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile*¹.

But, while the Vandals of southern Africa thus harassed both the East and the West, their fury descended with peculiar violence upon Italy the now feeble representative of the western third part of the Roman world. In the year 455, Genseric sailed from the port of Carthage, and suddenly landed at the mouth of the Tiber. Rome, once the queen of nations, was now unable to resist the arms of a barbaric chieftain. During fourteen days and nights, the eternal city was given up to the ferocity of the Vandals and the licentiousness of the Moors: and, by these reckless corsairs of Africa, it was plundered of all that yet remained to it, from former conquerors, of public or private wealth, of sacred or profane treasure. Having thus satiated at once his rapacity and his cruelty, Genseric set sail again for Africa, carrying with him immense riches and an innumerable multitude of captives, among whom were the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters².

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 145, 146, 187, 188.

² Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 149—154.

These facts require very little application. The naval eruption of the Vandals from Africa is evidently the plague of the south-wind : and it is symbolised by a circumstance yet more dreadful than an ordinary eruption of the southern volcano mount Etna. As this burning portent might be torn up by an earthquake and hurled into the Mediterranean¹ : so, from the year 439 to the year 477, did the Vandalic pirates throw themselves upon the allegorical sea of the Roman world, or upon the people of the Roman Empire distracted by the wars and revolutions produced by the first trumpet. They made no attempt to conquer the earth or the northern territorial platform of the Empire : they confined their incursions to the figurative sea, or the war-distracted inhabitants of the countries which acknowledged the Roman sovereignty. *As they were more ambitious of spoil than of glory, they seldom attacked any fortified cities, or engaged any regular troops in the open field: but the celerity of their motions enabled them, almost at the same time, to threaten and to attack the most distant objects which attracted their desires ; and, as they always embarked a sufficient number of*

¹ The imagery, employed in the oracle of the second trumpet, cannot justly be deemed an unnatural physiological exaggeration. Humboldt mentions a volcano in America, 263 toises in height, or triple in height to the Monte Nuovo of Puzzuola, which was thrown up or produced, by the action of subterraneous fire, in the single night of September 29, 1759. See Research. vol. ii. p. 101—103.

*horses, they had no sooner landed, than they swept the country with a body of light cavalry*¹. Yet, while the volcano of the south affected every part of the allegorical sea within its reach, its fury was chiefly directed against the western third part of that sea. Rome and the coasts of Italy were the principal sufferers: the eastern third part escaped with a comparatively trifling loss. *An adequate, or at least a valuable, compensation was offered by the Eastern Emperor to purchase a necessary peace: and THE FURY OF THE VANDALS WAS CONFINED TO THE LIMITS OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE*².

We must not omit to notice the strict even *geographical* propriety, which characterises the poetical machinery of the present oracle. If Sicily had never been *subjugated* by the Vandals, the volcano of Etna might have seemed a less accurately decorous symbol of them: because that island, though lying *south* of Italy, would not, in that case, have formed any part of their *dominions*. But the circumstance, of their having *conquered* Sicily, and of their having thus made Etna *their own*, renders the poetical machinery of the oracle round and blameless and absolutely perfect in all its component parts³.

III. *And the third angel sounded: and there fell from heaven a great star, burning as it were*

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 188.

² Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 189.

³ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 146.

*a lamp ; and it fell upon the third part of the rivers and upon the fountains of waters. And the name of the star is called Wormwood : and the third part of the waters was changed to wormwood ; and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter*¹.

The first and second trumpets introduce the two plagues of the north-wind and the south-wind : hence the third trumpet must of necessity bring its plague either from the west or from the east. History, accordingly, will teach us, that the plague of the third trumpet is the plague of the west-wind.

As the plague of the south-wind blew upon Italy from the dismembered African provinces : so, on the same principle, the plague of the west-wind must blow upon it from those western European provinces, which stretch from the straits of Gibraltar to the Rhine, and to the Alps. Now the effect produced by the wind of the third trumpet is the fall of a great star : and this star, by its fall, imbitters a third part of the allegorical rivers and fountains of the Empire, so that it might thence be well denominated *Wormwood*.

1. The plague of the south-wind, which hurled the symbolical Etna with all its fires into the midst of the sea, commenced in the year 439 : the next marked event, which arrests our attention, is the fall of a great star from heaven.

Now the fall of a star from heaven, when inter-

¹ Rev. viii. 10, 11.

preted secularly as the whole context of the prophecy requires it to be interpreted, denotes the downfall of a prince from his state of regal sovereignty¹. The star in question, however, is denominated *a great star*; an expression, which plainly implies a dignified preëminence over the neighbouring stars of the political firmament. Therefore the event, pointed out by the present imagery, is the downfall of a preëminent sovereign of the Roman Empire described as immediately consecutive to the devastations of the Vandals from the south. Now, at the epoch of the third trumpet, various Gothic monarchies had been erected upon the platform of the Western Empire: but their chiefs universally acknowledged the dignified precedence of the Roman Emperorship, which at this period was represented by the two lines of the Eastern and the Western Cæsars. Such being the case, the great star of the third trumpet must be either the Eastern or the Western Emperor. It cannot be the Eastern Emperor: because the Eastern Emperorship was not subverted until many ages afterward. Therefore it must be the Western Emperor: and, accordingly, the subversion of the Western Emperorship, in the year 476 or 479, was the next prominent event to the devastations of the Vandals from the south.

The great star being thus identified with the Western Emperorship, we must trace the progress of the calamities which led to its fall: that so we

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (1.)

may learn from the attestation of history, whether the plague of the third trumpet was brought by the west-wind or by the east-wind.

While Genseric was harassing the Roman world from the south, he sedulously instigated the Goths of Europe to make an effectual diversion from the west. In consequence of these intrigues, the Visigothic Theodoric violated his recent treaty with the Romans : and the ample territory of Narbonne, which he firmly united to his dominions, became the immediate reward of his perfidy. Theodoric was succeeded by Euric : and, in his reign, the design of extinguishing the Roman Empire in Spain and Gaul was conceived and almost completed. Of Spain, the whole was lost : and, throughout Gaul, Berry and Auvergne were the only cities or dioceses, which refused to acknowledge him as their master. These events took place between the years 462 and 472¹.

Meanwhile, after the battle of Chalons and the death of Attila, the bravest of the Gothic youth, who had served in the army of that prince, retreated into Italy : and there they became formidable as a band of confederates, in which the names of the Heruli, the Scyrri, the Alani, the Turcilingi, and the Rugii, appear to have predominated. These warriors saluted the famous Odoacer as their king : and to him was reserved the task of finally precipitating the great star from the political firmament. *The son of Orestes, a youth recommended only by his*

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 205, 206.

beauty, would be little entitled to the notice of posterity, if his reign, which was marked by the extinction of the Roman Empire in the west, did not leave a memorable era in the history of mankind. This last prince of the occidental line of Cesars, in whose appellation *Momyllus-Augustulus* the names of *Romulus* and *Augustus* were strangely blended and corrupted, was deposed, in the year 476 or 479, by Odoacer ; who, causing himself to be proclaimed king of Italy, put an end to the very title of the Western Empire ¹.

2. Thus did the plague of the west-wind, which began to blow in the year 462, produce the downfall of the great star of the third trumpet : but St. John intimates, that the fall of this star upon the third part of the rivers and fountains, or upon the numerous Gothic kingdoms of the divided Western Empire, would tinge them with bitterness and would cause the death of many men ; whence he styles it *Wormwood*, indicating by such a name the bitter discord which its fall would eventually occasion ².

As the union of the western nations under one head would naturally be the cause of peace among them, so their disunion under many heads would as naturally be the cause of war. The Occidental Empire of Rome became, at its extinction, an apple of discord to its fierce conquerors. They first par-

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 221—231.

² See above book i. chap. 1. § II, 1. (1.)

tioned its territories, and then they quarrelled among themselves for the possession of them. The feet of the image, agreeably to the prophecy recorded by Daniel, were composed of iron and of clay, partly strong and partly brittle: and, in the conflict of these heterogeneous materials, the clay was speedily ground to powder. After a short reign of sixteen years, Odoacer was attacked and slain by Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths: the Ostrogothic monarchy was, in its turn, subverted by the lieutenants of the Eastern Emperor: and Italy was, afterward, a prey alternately to the Lombards and the Franks. If from Italy we cast our eyes over Gaul, we shall behold the same spectacle of war and discord in the contests of Clovis with the Alemanni, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths. Nor were Gaul and Italy the only western regions, which the fall of the mystic Hesperus tinged with bitterness. *At that unhappy period, the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the possession of Britain: and Africa was exposed to the cruel persecution of the Vandals and the savage insults of the Moors. All the subjects of the Empire, who by the use of the Latin language more particularly deserved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppressed by the disgrace and calamities of foreign conquest: and the victorious nations of Germany established a new system of manners and government in the western countries of Europe*¹.

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 404.

IV. *And the fourth angel sounded : and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars ; in order that the third part of them might be darkened, and that the day might not shine as to the third part of it and the night likewise* ¹.

The three first trumpets severally introduced the three plagues of the north-wind, the south-wind, and the west-wind: hence the plague of the east-wind alone remains to be introduced by the fourth trumpet. Accordingly, this arrangement, which follows of necessity from the arrangement of the three former plagues, is no less required by the imagery of the oracle, than it is established by the voice of history.

1. By the extinction of the Western Empire, the Eastern was left as the sole representative of Roman greatness. During the period, therefore, of the fourth trumpet, the third part of the Roman World, which is affected, can only be the Eastern Empire.

Now the mode, in which it is affected, is described by the figure of a great eclipse. The *entire* sun is the Imperial Power operating throughout the *whole* Empire: the *entire* moon, or the allegorical wife of the sun, is the right of sovereignty exercised over *all* the Roman territory; and the *entire* host of heaven denotes *all* the civil authorities by which the *whole* undivided Empire is administered. Hence the *third part* of the sun and of the moon and of

¹ Rev. viii. 12.

the stars will signify the Imperial Dignity and the right of sovereignty and the collective magistracy of only one *third part* of the Empire : which third part, during the period of the fourth trumpet, must, for the reasons already given, be the eastern third part or the Greek Empire of the East.

Such being the case, the prophecy declares, not merely that the sun and the moon and the stars should be defalcated of two parts out of three ; but that the third part *itself* of those luminaries, after shining with a brilliant though diminished lustre in the East, should experience so great an eclipse that an almost total darkness should be the consequence of it. In other words, the prophecy does not foretell an extraordinary diminution of light *by* the reduction of the heavenly bodies to only one third part of their natural dimensions : but it foretells an eminent eclipse of the third part itself, to which the heavenly bodies had been *previously* reduced. When to this we add, that the plague, which brings on the eclipse of the third part of the heavenly host, is the plague of the east-wind ; the sum and substance of the prediction, if translated from the language of symbols into the language of common life, will be to the following effect. The Greek Empire, or the Eastern third part of the Roman Empire, is destined, during the period of the fourth trumpet, to experience some great political defalcation, which will be produced by calamities coming from the east : but, as the image employed to represent this visitation is only an eclipse which in its nature is

not permanent, the political defalcation alluded to will soon be repaired.

2. In order to ascertain the event intended by that plague of the east-wind which brings so marked a calamity upon the Greek Empire, we must obviously follow the stream of history as it rolls downward from the year 476 or 479 when the brilliant western star of the third trumpet was precipitated from the political heaven.

The reigns of Zeno and Anastasius and Justin, which jointly extended from the year 474 to the year 527, offer nothing worthy of our particular attention : but the reign of Justinian, which commenced in the year 527 and which terminated in the year 565, may be deemed a peculiarly brilliant period of Byzantine history. While Belisarius and Narses, the two consummate generals of this prince, overturned the kingdoms of the Vandals and the Ostrogoths, curbed the ambition of Persia, and re-annexed Africa and Sicily and Italy to the Empire; the eastern third part of the heavenly bodies shone out with an unusual degree of splendour : hence it is self-evident, that the predicted time of their eclipse could not have arrived during the reign of Justinian. As little can we discover any thing, which corresponds with the imagery of the fourth trumpet, in the reigns of the younger Justin and Tiberius and Maurice, which extended from the year 565 to the year 602 : but, immediately after this last epoch, the east-wind began to blow, and the threatened eclipse commenced.

(1.) In the year 602, the unfortunate Maurice was deposed and murdered by the usurper Phocas : and, in the year 603, Chosroes invaded the Eastern Roman Empire,

According to the friendly and equal forms of the Byzantine and Persian courts, Phocas announced his exaltation to the throne : and his ambassador Lilius, who had presented him with the heads of Maurice and his sons, was the best qualified to describe the circumstances of the tragedy. But, however it might be varnished by fiction or sophistry, Chosroes turned with horror from the assassin, imprisoned the pretended envoy, disclaimed the usurper, and declared himself the avenger of his father and benefactor.

Thus commenced a war, which brought the Byzantine Empire to the very brink of ruin : for, though it was begun by the Persian under the pious pretext of avenging the death of Maurice, it was ambitiously and successfully prolonged far beyond the deposition and execution of Phocas. Between the years 603 and 616, Chosroes subdued Syria and Palestine and Egypt and Asia Minor : a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople : and, from the long-disputed banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nushirvan was suddenly extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy. The Emperor Heraclius, who had succeeded Phocas, was reduced to the lowest pitch of distress and des-

pair : and every thing seemed to portend the speedy dissolution of the Byzantine Empire. Yet the experience of six years at length persuaded Chosroes, to renounce the conquest of Constantinople, and to specify the annual tribute or ransom of the Roman Sovereignty ; a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silken robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins. Heraclius subscribed these ignominious terms : but the time and space, which he obtained to collect such treasures from the poverty of the East, was industriously employed in the preparations of a bold and desperate attack.

(2.) Such was the predicted eclipse of the eastern third part of the heavenly bodies : such were the baneful effects of the east-wind, when liberated in the year 603 by the long-coercing angel of the fourth trumpet.

But, as the characteristic of an eclipse is not *permanence*, the luminaries of the Greek Empire were destined after a time to recover their lost brilliancy. For the crime of an ambitious centurion, the nation, which he oppressed, was chastised with the calamities of war : and the same calamities, at the end of twenty years, were retaliated and redoubled on the heads of the Persians. By the insolence of Chosroes, the Byzantine Emperor was, at length, roused to manly exertion : *the Arcadius of the palace arose the Cesar of the camp : and the honour of Rome and Heraclius was gloriously retrieved by the exploits and trophies of six ad-*

venturous campaign. The result of the last decisive battle of Nineveh was the flight and the deposition and the murder of the Persian tyrant: *the son of Chosroes abandoned without regret the conquests of his father: the Persians, who evacuated the cities of Syria and Egypt, were honourably conducted to the frontier: and a war, which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchies, produced no change in their external and relative situation*¹. At this period, the figurative eclipse passed away: and the luminaries of the Eastern Empire again shone forth.

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. viii. p. 206—256.

CHAPTER VII.

RESPECTING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH APOCALYPTIC TRUMPETS OR THE FIRST AND SECOND WOE-TRUMPETS.

THE effects, produced by the fourth trumpet, having been symbolically described as a great eclipse of the already shorn luminaries of the Roman Empire ; St. John inserts a short explanatory præm to the three last trumpets.

*And I beheld, and heard an angel flying in the meridian, saying with a loud voice: Woe, Woe, Woe, to those who dwell upon the earth from the remaining voices of the trumpet of the three angels who are yet to sound*¹.

This præm is of considerable importance in the arrangement of the Apocalypse ; nor is it lightly to be passed over, as a mere general declaration. It plainly indicates the commencement of a new and peculiar period : a period, which, as *genus* comprehends *species*, should contain within its chronological limits three successive seasons of eminent yet homogeneous calamity. The four first trumpets are placed together in a single class, both as bearing a general mutual resemblance in their nature,

¹ Rev. viii. 13.

and as introducing the four threatened plagues from the four winds of heaven. Then comes the præm to the three woes: and this præm draws a strong and distinct line of demarcation between the four first trumpets and the three last trumpets; an arrangement, which thus leaves us no room to doubt as to the propriety of dividing the entire series into two classes, and which thence indicates the trumpets of the second class to bear a common character materially and essentially different from the common character sustained by the trumpets of the first class.

Such being the case, would we learn the common character which the trumpets of the second class may reasonably be *supposed* to sustain, we must define the common character which the already interpreted trumpets of the first class have actually been *found* to sustain: for, since the two characters of the two classes are indicated to be essentially different from each other, the definition of the one character will lead, by the rule of inversion, to a right understanding of the other character.

Now the common character of the four first trumpets is purely *political*. Hence the common character of the three last trumpets, though it may involve much that is political, must yet be something distinct and different; something not political, but yet something marked and peculiar.

What, then, can be the peculiarity, which forms the essence of the character of the three last trumpets, if it be not *political*?

Clearly, *religion*, or rather *hostility to true religion*, must be the characteristic peculiarity of the three woe-trumpets: for the only two subjects, which are treated of in the Apocalypse, are *Politics* and *Religion*.

But, if *hostility to true religion* be the common characteristic of the three woe-trumpets as contradistinguished from their four merely *political* predecessors, we are immediately led to conclude, that the collective period of the three woe-trumpets is in fact the period of those 1260 years during which the Church is to be given up to the tyranny of the powers of darkness.

With this conclusion, the chronology of the three woe-trumpets will be found exactly to agree. The fourth trumpet, which introduced the plague of the east-wind, began to sound, as we have recently seen, in the year 603. Therefore the collective periods of the three woe-trumpets must, like the period of the latter 1260 years, commence *after* that year.

I. At the sounding of the fifth trumpet or the first of the three woe-trumpets, a star is seen to fall, or just to complete its fall, from heaven to earth¹. It receives a key; and opens with it the pit of the abyss. Forthwith there arises a thick smoke: and, in the midst of it, issues out a vast swarm of locusts with their leader Apollyon at their

¹ Such appears to be the sense of the participle *πεπτωκότα*, here used: *præsens-perfectum*. Annot. S. Clarke s. t. p. in Homer. Iliad. lib. i. ver. 37.

head. The commission of these locusts is, not to hurt the grass of the earth nor any green thing nor any tree, but only to injure those men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads : and, in point of time, it is limited to five prophetic months or 150 natural years. As, for the locusts themselves, they are like horses prepared for battle : their crowns are crowns of gold : their faces are as the faces of men : they have hair as the hair of women : their teeth are as the teeth of lions : their breastplates are like breastplates of iron : they have the tails of scorpions, armed with deadly stings : and the sound of their wings is as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle¹.

Our best commentators are agreed, with very general unanimity, in the *leading* proposition, that the woe of the locust relates to the rise of Mohammedism and to the flourishing period of the Saracenic Caliphate : but they are not always satisfactory in their interpretation of *subordinate* particulars. Before any attempt is made to remedy this defect, it will be useful and proper to give some account of the origin of that extraordinary imposture which constitutes the subject of the first apocalyptic woe.

The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of Paganism: their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images, that disgraced the temples of the East: the throne of the Almighty was

¹ Rev. ix. 1—11.

darkened by a cloud of martyrs and saints and angels, the objects of popular veneration : and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess. Intemperate zeal and curiosity had torn the veil of the sanctuary : and each of the oriental sects was eager to confess, that all, except themselves, deserved the reproach of idolatry and polytheism.

In the year 569, four years after the death of Justinian, and two months after the defeat of the Abyssinians whose victory would have introduced into the Caaba the religion of the Christians, Mohammed, the only son of Abdallah and Amina, was born at Mecca. In his early infancy, he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather : his uncles were strong and numerous : and, in the division of the inheritance, the orphan's share was reduced to five camels and an Ethiopian maid-servant. At home and abroad, in peace and in war, Abu-Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth : and, in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the service of Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. By this alliance, the son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his ancestors : and the judicious matron was content with his domestic virtues, till, in the fortieth year of his age, he

assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

Conversation enriches the understanding : but solitude is the school of genius. From his earliest youth, Mohammed was addicted to religious contemplation. Each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew from the world and from the arms of Cadijah. In the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca, he consulted the spirit of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens but in the mind of the prophet. The faith, which, under the name of ISLAM, he preached to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction : THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD ; AND MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

It was in the year 609, that the Arabian prophet began privately to preach at Mecca. The first and most arduous conquests of Mohammed were those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend. Yet Cadijah believed the words, and cherished the glory, of her husband : the obsequious and affectionate Zeid was tempted by the prospect of freedom : the illustrious Ali embraced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero : and the wealth, the moderation, the veracity, of Abubeker confirmed the religion of the prophet whom he was destined to succeed. By his persuasion, ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private lessons of Islam : they yielded to the voice of

reason and enthusiasm : they repented the fundamental creed ; THERE IS BUT ONE GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD : and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honours, with the command of armies, and with the government of kingdoms. • Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes; the first-fruits of his mission : but, in the fourth year or the year 612, he publicly assumed the prophetic office, and resolved to impart to his family the light of divine truth¹.

Such, according to the voice of history, was the rise of Mohammedism : let us now attend to the symbolical prophecy, which is generally supposed to announce it as a great and eminent woe to Christendom.

1. As that devastating insect the locust was brought by the east-wind out of Arabia, to constitute one of the plagues of Egypt ; so a swarm of locusts is employed by the prophet, with the strictest hieroglyphical decorum, to represent those innumerable hosts of destructive Saracens, which, under the guidance of Mohammed and his successors, alighted upon the apocalyptic earth or the territorial Roman Empire. Yet, notwithstanding that the phantasms, which issued from the pit of the abyss, bore a general resemblance to locusts ; they had several peculiarities attendant upon them,

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 255—284.

by which they were more perfectly adapted to typify the people designed to be thus shadowed out¹.

(1.) *The symbolical locusts were like horses prepared for the battle.*

Thus the strength of the Saracens consisted very much in their numerous cavalry: and, through all ages, the Arabs have been proverbial for their skill in horsemanship.

(2.) *The locusts had on their heads, as it were, crowns like gold.*

Thus the Arabs have constantly worn turbans: and their boast was, that they wore, as their common attire, those ornaments, which among other people are the peculiar badges of royalty.

¹ The general machinery of the apocalyptic locusts has doubtless been borrowed from the locusts of Joel. See Joel ii. But each prophet has varied the naked symbol to make it suit his own descriptive purposes. Contrary to the physiology of the literal locust, Joel's locusts come into Palestine from the north. Joel ii. 20. By this indication he shews, partly that his locusts are symbolical locusts, and partly that they represent some great military destructive Power which at the time of the yet future restoration of the Jews will advance by a route from the north into the land of Canaan. Compare Joel ii. 20. with ii. 32. iii. The whole prophecy, contained in Joel ii. iii, corresponds with the prophecy in Dan. xi. 40—45. xii. 1: for the two predictions treat of the same times, the same persons, the same events, and the same countries. In the abstract, a swarm of locusts denotes an invading and desolating army: in the concrete, the particular army denoted must be determined by the chronology and circumstances of the prophecy. See above book i. chap. i. § II. 5. (5.)

(3.) *The locusts had faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women.*

Thus the Arabs, as Pliny testifies, wore their beards, or rather mustachios, as men; while their hair, like that of women, was flowing or plaited.

(4.) *The teeth of the locusts were as the teeth of a lion.*

By this expression, we are obviously to understand at once the strength and the rapacity of the people symbolised. To see how fitly such characteristics are ascribed to the Saracens, we need only to peruse the history of their conquests.

(5.) *The sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.*

Here we behold the rapid career of the Saracens. Without let or hindrance, and almost in the same moment, their numerous cavalry overran alike the rival Empires of Persia and Constantinople.

(6.) *They had stings in their tails, like scorpions.*

The tail of a beast denotes the superstition which he patronises¹. Hence this part of the symbol teaches us, that the false religion, propagated by the locusts, should be as deadly in a spiritual point of view, as the sting of a scorpion is in a natural point of view. Nothing can be more artful, than the addition of such a peculiarity to the allegorical locusts: for, while it strongly displays the destruc-

¹ See above book i. chap. i. § II. 2. (1.)

five nature of the superstition, it requires us to apply the whole of the first woe, not merely to the ravages of a secular conqueror, but to the establishment of a new and antichristian religion.

(7.) *A command was given to the locusts, that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree.*

By this command, the allegorical locusts were required to act in a manner perfectly dissimilar to the ravages of natural locusts : yet, as the command was distinctly given, so was it faithfully obeyed. When Yezid was marching to invade Syria, the Caliph Abu-Beker laid upon him the following remarkable injunction. *Destroy no palm-trees ; nor burn any fields of corn : cut down no fruit-trees ; nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat.*

(8.) *The commission of the locusts extended only to hurt those men, who had not the seal of God on their foreheads : but, though they were permitted to hurt them, their warrant gave them no power to kill them.*

In the countries invaded by the Saracens, a very great defection from primitive Christianity had taken place : for, before they began their ravages, the predicted demonolatriy of saints and martyrs had extended itself both through the east and through the west, the grand Apostasy had become dominant, and its Latin head the man of sin had been revealed. But Savoy, Piedmont, and the southern provinces of France, which countries were

eminently the seat of the two ancient Churches of the Waldenses and the Albigenses, had been but little, if at all, tainted with the general disease. Hence, though the Saracens overrun with impunity the largest part of the Greek Empire, the African provinces, the south of Italy, and nearly the whole of Spain; when they approached the country of those, who had been sealed with the seal of God on their foreheads, they were defeated with great slaughter by Charles Martel between Tours and Poitiers, and were driven by his son Pepin out of Languedoc and Provence and the other parts of the south of France. Yet we must observe, that, while they were allowed to *torment* the men who had not the seal of God on their foreheads or to *hurt* the great body politic of the apostate Empire; they were not permitted to *kill* or to subvert its remaining third part. Accordingly, they were never able to take Constantinople or to overturn its monarchy, though they frequently made the attempt: for, as we shall presently see, the task of giving the fatal blow to its declining power was reserved for their successors the Turks.

2. These locusts, we are told, had a king over them, the angel of the abyss, whose name is *Abaddon* or *Apollyon* or *the Destroyer*.

Since the locusts are at once secular conquerors and the propagators of a false religion, their king must stand to them in the double relation of a temporal and spiritual chief. Such, accordingly, was Mohammed and the Caliphs his successors, who

must be viewed, as jointly constituting the locust-king Abaddon : for, in the usual language of prophecy, a king denotes, not any single individual, but a dynasty or kingdom. The chief of the locusts, when they first issued from the pit of the abyss, was Mohammed himself : but, during the allotted period of the woe which they occasioned, the reigning Destroyer was of course the reigning Caliph. Yet Abaddon, by whatever individual he might be represented for the time being, was invariably the head both of the Church and of the State, was invariably at once both the supreme pontiff and the supreme emperor. The two-fold idea was aptly expressed by his single official denomination, *The Commander of the Faithful*.

3. We must next take into consideration another important character, which is prominently introduced at the very commencement of the prophecy.

Precisely at the sounding of the fifth trumpet which brings on the woe of the locusts, a star is seen to complete its fall from heaven to earth : and, with a key which it receives, it forthwith unlocks the pit of the abyss. When this has been done, a thick smoke arises from the aperture, which speedily darkens the sun and the air : and, out of the smoke, issue the locusts with their destroying leader at their head.

The *poetical* machinery of the present vision is taken from the sacred oracular caves of the ancient Pagans, which were often thought to communicate with the sea or the great abyss, and which were

specially valued when (like that at Delphi) they emitted an intoxicating vapour: it is used, therefore, with singular propriety, in foretelling the rise of a religious imposture¹.

Such is the machinery of the vision: and from its arrangement we may distinctly learn, not only that the star must be something altogether separate from the locusts and their chief, but likewise that both its fall from heaven and its opening the pit of the abyss must chronologically *precede* the issuing forth of the locusts. In order, therefore, to ascertain what is meant by this imagery, the best and most obvious method is to trace the series of events retrogressively.

(1.) The year, in which the locusts issued from the allegorical pit of the abyss, can only be the year 612: for, in that year, it was, that their leader Mohammed publicly assumed the prophetic office, and shewed himself at the head of the fourteen disciples whom he had painfully gained in private during the three preceding years. Consequently,

¹ See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book v. chap. 7. § I. 2. II. 2. In the machinery of the vision, there may possibly be an allusion, not only to oracular caves in general, but also in particular to the cave whither Mohammed himself was wont to retire for the purpose of excogitating his imposture. This cave was the cave of Hera: and the name seems to import, that, in pagan times, it was a grotto temple of Hera or the Lady, as the oracular great mother Lilith or Isi or Neith or Juno was often denominated. *Hera* was the familiar name of the Queen of heaven, not only in the Greek, but likewise in the widely spreading primeval Sanscrit.

this is the year, from 'which we must begin our retrogressive inquiry.

The appearance of the locusts is *preceded* by a thick smoke, which rises out of the abyss : and, from the midst of this smoke, they seem to issue. Hence, if the locusts issued forth in the year 612, the thick smoke, which came out of the same abyss with themselves, and which shortly darkened both the sun and the air, must have begun to rise *previous* to that year. This smoke, however, must clearly be connected with the locusts : both because they come out of it, and because they and the smoke equally rise out of the same abyss. Such being the case, I see not what the smoke can be supposed to mean, except the dense and noxious fumes of that corrupt theology, which at first was privately taught by Mohammed from the year 609 to the year 612; but which, in a wonderfully short space of time after the latter of those years, darkened, to a large portion of the world, the Sun of righteousness, and obscured the wholesome air through which his beams had heretofore shone upon the Roman earth. We may reasonably, therefore, conclude, that the smoke began to rise, when Mohammed, in the year 609, began, as yet privately, to breathe the fumes of his intoxicating imposture upon his fourteen earliest converts.

But, *before* the smoke begins to rise, the door of the pit is opened by a star, which had recently completed its fall from heaven. Hence the pit must be opened; and the star must complete its

fall, *previous* to the year '609: How *long* previous, is not positively determined in the present prophecy; but the obvious tenor of it shews, that these events cannot have occurred *much* before the rising of the smoke: for, almost in the same instant, St. John beholds the star touch the earth, open the pit, and let out the noxious exhalation. The defect, however, if it can be called defect, is supplied by the parallel prophecy of Daniel. We thence learn, that, when the apostates should be come to the full, the little horn of the he-goat or the king of fierce countenance should stand up. But I have already shewn, that the eastern little horn is Mohammedism¹. Therefore Mohammedism is to commence, *immediately after* the apostates shall have come to the full: or, in other words, the completion of the great Apostasy is *immediately to precede* the rise of the Mohammedan imposture. The Mohammedan imposture, however, must be said to have actively commenced in the year 609; when its author began, though privately, to preach at Mecca: for, *hitherto*, the plan was confined to his own bosom; but, *now*, the imposture commenced, or stood up in a state of activity. Therefore the apostates must have come to the full, or the great Apostasy must have been completed, *immediately before* the year 609. With this result from Daniel, the machinery of St. John's prophecy exactly agrees: for the rising of the allegorical smoke, and the

¹ See above book iii. chap. 3. § II. 3.

issuing forth of the locusts, is *immediately preceded* by the completion of the fall of a star from heaven or (in plain language) by the completion of the apostasy of an eminent Christian Bishop. Now the great demonolatrous Apostasy was completed by the revelation of the lawless man of sin : and the lawless man of sin was revealed at the commencement of the latter three times and a half, when the times and the laws and the saints within the limits of his appointed western domain were unanimously given into his hand by the existing representatives of the ten Gothic kings. But this unanimity first occurred in the year 604 : and, immediately afterward, or in the year 609, Mohammedism, as we had been taught to expect both by Daniel and by John, stood up or commenced. Hence the phantasm of the star completing its fall from heaven to earth, which *immediately precedes* the rise of Mohammedism in the year 609 and the issuing forth of the Saracenic locusts in the year 612, is chronologically determined to mean the completion of the demonolatrous Apostasy by the revelation of its lawless head at the commencement of the latter three times and a half : and hence, as the completed fall of the star, with which the vision opens, *immediately precedes* the rise of Mohammedism in the year 609, the latter three times and a half must have commenced *immediately before* that year 609. But no epoch, thus chronologically determined, will serve for the commencement of the latter three times and a half, except the year 604,

when the great Apostasy was completed. Therefore, as the fifth trumpet begins to sound with the completed fall of the Latin star, and as the completed fall of the Latin star took place in the year 604, and as the completion of its fall or the completion of the great demonolatrous Apostasy marks the commencement of the latter three times and a half: it will follow, that the fifth trumpet, which introduces the woe of the Saracenic locusts, began to sound at the commencement of the latter three times and a half or in the year after Christ 604¹.

(2.) If, then, the completed fall of the star, with which the fifth trumpet commences, denote the completed apostasy of the Roman Pontiff at the beginning of the latter 1260 years, we must inquire, before the subject be dismissed, on what principle it can be said, that the completion of the great demonolatrous Apostasy opened a door for the successful propagation of the Mohammedan imposture.

Unless the reader has perused in a very cursory manner the historical statement which forms the basis of my exposition, he will have anticipated me

¹ I may add, that, since the fourth trumpet began to sound in the year 603, the fifth trumpet could not have begun to sound *earlier* than the year 604. Hence the sounding of the fifth trumpet is chronologically confined to the narrow space which intervenes between the year 603 and the year 609. It could not sound *later* than the year 608; because, in the year 609, the smoke began to issue from the opened pit of the abyss: it could not sound *earlier* than the year 604; because, in the year 603, its predecessor the fourth trumpet began to sound.

in the answer to this question. *The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of Paganism*: the great demonolatrious Apostasy, foretold by St. Paul, had extended itself far and wide throughout the Catholic Church: and, at length, in the year 604, it was completed by the revelation of the man of sin as its authoritative head; when, by the unanimous delivery of the times and the laws and the saints into the hand of the little western horn, the papal supremacy was established. This was the circumstance, which rendered the seventh century so peculiarly favourable to the rise and progress of Mohammedism. The impostor's intercourse with the Christians and the Jews taught him the gross folly of his national polytheism: but his natural shrewdness at the same time led him to perceive, how widely the Christians of that age had departed from their own acknowledged principles, by their worship of dead men, or by what the historian well denominates *their lapse into a semblance of Paganism*. Accordingly, his religious system was avowedly constructed on the basis of a direct opposition to idolatry of *every* sort and description. *During six hundred years, the Gospel, he allowed, was the way of truth and salvation: but the Christians insensibly forgot both the laws and the example of their founder* ¹. Hence he publicly declared, that he was commissioned of God, to destroy polytheism and idolatry,

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 266.

and to reform both the religion of the Arabs and the corrupted worship of the Christians. While, therefore, *the public and private vows of the latter were addressed to relics and images*; while *the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs and saints and angels, the objects of popular veneration*; and while *the Virgin Mary was invested with the name and honours of a goddess*: while such was the state of the Christian world, when the apostates were come to the full or when the great Apostasy was completed by the revelation of the man of sin; it was the rational boast of Mohammed, on which he suspended his daring claim of a divine commission, to *reject the worship of idols and of men, of stars and of planets*, and to propound the unity of God as the sole object of religious veneration. In short, the demonolatrous apostasy of Christians was the leading cause of the rise of Mohammedism. Hence, when it is said, in the symbolical language of prophecy, that a star, which had just completed its fall from heaven, opened the door of the pit and gave liberty to the Saracenic locusts; the meaning of such phraseology, in plain words, is no other than this: that the completion of the great demonolatrous Apostasy by the revelation of the man of sin opened a wide door for the successful propagation of an imposture, which speciously founded itself upon the eternal truth that *God alone is the proper object of religious worship*.

4. Nothing remains but the easy task of settling

the chronology of the five prophetic months or the 150 natural years.

As this is the period, during which the locusts are permitted to be a woe to Christendom, it must of course be calculated from the time when they emerged out of the smoke that rose from the pit of the abyss. But their emergence occurred, as we have seen, in the year 612. From this year, therefore, the period must be calculated. If, then, we reckon 150 years from the year 612, we shall be brought to the year 762 as the close of the first great woe.

Accordingly, it was in this year, that the Caliph Almansor founded Bagdad as the future seat of his Empire, and called it *the city of peace*¹. At that point of time, the Saracens ceased from their locust devastations, and became a settled and lettered and civilised people. Henceforth, they no longer made such rapid conquests as they had formerly done ; but only engaged in ordinary wars, like other nations : insomuch that a modern historian considers the foundation of Bagdad, as a marked chronological era in the Saracenic Empire ; the period which precedes it being that of *the undivided Caliphate or the rise of the Saracenic Power*, while the period which succeeds it is that of *the divided Caliphate or the decline and fall of the Saracenic Power*².

¹ The foundations of Bagdad were laid, A.H. 145 ; which corresponds with A.D. 762. 'Hist. of Decline, vol. x. p. 35.

² 'Mills's Hist. of Mohammedism, p. 44, 104, 105, 132, 133.

5. At the conclusion of the prophecy respecting the locusts, it is added, *One woe is past*: but, at the conclusion of the second woe, it is asserted, *Behold, the third woe cometh quickly*¹. This difference of expression clearly marks, that a much longer interval was to elapse between the first woe and the second woe, than between the second woe and the third woe; a circumstance, which, as we shall find in the sequel, has been exactly accomplished.

II. At the sounding of the sixth trumpet or the second of the three woe-trumpets, a command is given to loose the four angels who were hitherto bound in the regions bordering on the great river Euphrates². Accordingly, after a season of preparation which precedes the sounding of the sixth trumpet, they are let loose, during the period of a prophetic day and month and year, in order that they may destroy the third part of men. The armies, which they command, are described as consisting of innumerable hosts of cavalry: the warriors appear to the prophet, as wearing breastplates of fire and hyacinth and brimstone: from the lion-like heads of their horses seem to proceed smoke and brimstone and fire, by the agency of which the third part of men are killed: and the horses themselves, like the Saracenic locusts, have power no

¹ Rev. ix. 12. xi. 14.

² Gr. Ἐπὶ τῇ ποτάμῳ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἐυφράτῃ: on the great river Euphrates, not in it.

less in their tails than in their mouths ; for their tails are like serpents provided with heads, and with them they inflict injury. Yet, notwithstanding the death of the third part of men, those, who escape these two successive woes, still harden their hearts, and repent not of their idolatry and their sorcery and their spiritual fornication ¹.

Respecting the general import of this prediction, there has been the same agreement among commentators, as respecting that of the last. Almost unanimously, the Euphratèan horsemen are pronounced to be the Turks.

The lords of a great part of Asia, which lies between the Indus and the Bosphorus, proceeded originally from the nation which dwells in the Khozzer or Khozzerz plains, at the north-east of the Caspian sea. They were called Turks or Turkmans ; and their first important emigration took place in the tenth century. The counsels of the monarch were guided by the talents of his emir Vekauk. On the death of the minister, his son Seljuk headed the armies of the sovereign : but this officer fell into disgrace ; and was thence compelled, with his family and his friends, to flee from the court into the territories adjacent to Samarcand. These Tartars, like most others of their nation in their emigrations to the south, embraced the Mohammedan religion. The followers of Seljuk increased : his residence became

¹ Rev. ix. 13—21.

the asylum for the fugitives from all the neighbouring kingdoms : and the peculiar characters of different races of men were lost in the common desire of conquest and of plunder. But the ambitious projects of Seljuk died with him. The wars, which his two grandsons, Togrol-Bec and Techegher-Bec, maintained with the princes of Transoxiana, extended the renown of their progress to the remotest limits of the east.

Between the years 1038 and 1063, Togrol defeated the Gaznavides ; subjugated Persia ; and was solemnly recognised, by the Caliph of Bagdad, as the master of all the Mohammedan States, and as the vice-gerent of the Moslem world. His nephew Alp-Arslan succeeded him in the year, 1063 : and, at the close of a prosperous reign, *the fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws, twelve hundred kings or chiefs stood before his throne, and two hundred thousand soldiers marched under his banners.*

He was succeeded by his son Malek-Shah, who reigned from the year 1072 to the year 1092, and who was *the greatest prince of his age. Persia was his : the emirs of Syria paid their submission of tribute and respect : the appearance of the governor of Transoxiana, as a prisoner, at Ispahan the metropolis of the Seljuk princes, and the Sultan's name on the coins of Kashjar, shewed the extent of the power of Malek-Shah in Tartary : and daily prayers were offered for his health in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Bag-*

dad, Rhei, Yspahan, Samarcand, Bokhara, and Kashgar.

But the greatness and unity of the Turkish Empire expired in the person of Malek-Shah. On his death, in the year 1092, the vast fabric fell to the ground ; and, after a series of civil wars, FOUR DYNASTIES, contemporary and not successive, were formed : namely, that of PERSIA at large ; that of KERMAN, a province of Persia ; that of a large portion of SYRIA, including Aleppo and Damascus ; and that of RHOUM, or Asia Minor.

The existence, and even the name, of the first three of these dynasties soon expired : but the Seljukian kingdom of RHOUM had a longer and more important duration. The conquest of Rhoum or Anatolia had been effected in the life of Malek by Suliman, a prince of his family : and the generous policy of Malek allowed him to enjoy it. This kingdom extended, from the Euphrates to Constantinople, and from the confines of Syria to the Black sea. The Sultan fixed his residence at Nice, once the metropolis of Bithynia : and this city, which had been so famous for its orthodoxy in the early history of the Christian Church, was now polluted by the preaching of the divinity of the mission of Mohammed.

In the year 1240, the Ottoman Turks, who dwelt originally at the north of the Caspian sea on the plains of Kipjak or Cumania, made their appear-

ance in Armenia, Syria, and Asia Minor. *Some of them engaged in the service of Alaḍdin, the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium or Rhoum : and it was not beneath the dignity of their leader Ortogrul to become the subject and soldier of that prince. The Seljuks of Iconium and the Korasmian Tartars became one people : in history they were known by the common name of Ottoman Turks : and the sword and sceptre of power were transferred from the sluggish Seljukian princes to their ambitious and enterprising generals*¹.

Such, according to the testimony of history, was the rise of the present Ottoman Power : and the narrative stands almost self-applied to the prophecy.

1. The four angels, who are described as bound in the regions bordering on the river Euphrates, are the four contemporary Sultanies or Dynasties, into which the Empire of the Seljukian Turks was divided toward the close of the eleventh century : PERSIA, KERMAN, SYRIA, and RHOUM.

These were long restrained from extending their conquests beyond what may be geographically termed *the Euphratèan regions*, partly by the quadruple division of their own once united Empire, partly by the revolutions of Asia, and partly by the instrumentality of the crusades. But, after the Latins had abandoned Syria and Egypt toward the close of the thirteenth century, the four angels, on the river Euphrates were forthwith loosed in the persons of

¹ Mills's Hist. of Mohamm. p. 233—261.

their existing representatives, the united Ottoman and Seljukian Turks.

2. The purpose, for which they are declared to be loosed, is, in order that they might slay the third part of men.

Respecting the import of this peculiar phraseology, enough has already been said in its proper place¹. The third part of the Roman Empire, here consigned to political destruction, is doubtless the Empire of the East or the Constantinopolitan Monarchy : and it is specially for the overthrow of this Power, that the four angels are unloosed.

The object of their liberation was duly accomplished. In the year 1453, they took Constantinople, and subverted the Roman Empire of the East.

3. The prophetic account of those characteristics, by which the Euphratèan warriors might be distinguished, accords in the most perfect manner with the description which history gives of the Turks.

(1.) *Their troops are said to be cavalry ; and this cavalry is represented, as consisting of myriads upon myriads : the heads of the horses are compared to the heads of lions, by way of indicating their great strength and fierceness : and the riders are depicted, as wearing breastplates of fire and of hyacinth and of brimstone, or, in other words, of red and blue and yellow.*

Agreeably to this minute and vivid description, the Turks brought immense armies into the field,

¹ See above book iv. chap. 5.

chiefly composed of horse : and, from the first time of their appearance on the great political stage of nations, they have peculiarly affected the colours of blue and yellow and scarlet.

(2.) *As the horses rushed to battle, fire and smoke and brimstone seemed to issue from their mouths : and it was by the agency of these destructive flashes, that the third part of men appeared to be slain.*

This part of the description is not less graphically minute than the former one. I readily agree with those commentators, who have supposed, that the flashes of fire attended by smoke and brimstone, which the prophet imagined to proceed from the mouths of the horses, were in reality the flashes of artillery. Cannon of an enormous size were employed by Mohammed the second in the siege of Constantinople : and it was chiefly by their instrumentality, that he succeeded in taking the metropolitan city and in thus politically slaying the apocalyptic third part of men¹.

(3.) *The horses had power to do hurt by their tails, as well as by their mouths : for their tails were furnished with heads, and resembled serpents.*

In the language of symbols, the tail denotes a corrupt superstition². Hence the propagation of a deadly imposture is here distinctly predicted. The event has accorded with the prophecy. Like

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. xii. p. 197, 211, 213.

² See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 2. (1.)^r

the Saracens of the first woe, the Turks were not merely secular conquerors. They were animated with all the wild fanaticism of a false religion : they professed and propagated the same theological system, as their Arabian predecessors : they injured by their doctrines, no less than by their conquests : and, wherever they established their dominion, the Koran triumphed over the Gospel.

4. Yet, notwithstanding the signal overthrow of the Eastern Empire, the rest of the men throughout the Roman territories, who were not politically killed by the plagues of the two first woes, repented not (we are told) of their worship of demon-gods and images : neither did they desist from their murderous persecutions, and their sorceries, and their pious frauds, and their spiritual fornication.

Accordingly we find, that, throughout the Latin Patriarchate, idolatry with all its concomitants was at its full height during the blast of the sixth trumpet and during the prevalence of the second woe. In the days of the Saracens, the Arabian imposture triumphed over the proud monarchy of Persia ; but was able only to *torment* the declining remains of the once formidable Empire of Rome : in the days of the Turks, while it beheld the capital of Chosrões prostrate at its feet, it witnessed also the political *death* of the Eastern third part of the Roman sovereignty. Still, however, did the Latin Church continue to trample alike upon humanity and upon religion. Unawed by the punishment of her Constantinopolitan sister she reso-

lutely set her face against the Reformation which commenced during the prolonged blast of this trumpet: while she relentlessly persecuted all those, who protested against her superstition, and who appealed to the decision of Holy Scripture. A more tremendous Power, therefore, and a yet more impious principle, than that of either the Saracens or the Turks, will be summoned against her by the blast of the third woe-trumpet¹.

¹ Mr. Whiston, in a very striking manner, brings the accomplishment of this part of the prophecy to the test of absolute and tangible matter of fact.

It appearing, by the conclusion of this trumpet, that such idolatry, as consisted in *the worship of demons and idols of gold and silver and brass and stone and wood which neither can see nor hear nor walk*, was a principal crime, for which this and the former trumpets were sent: they must, therefore, have for their object such nations or countries, as were guilty of such idolatry.

Now, since, in all the regions from Euphrates to the Western Ocean, the utmost limits of the Roman Empire, there neither are, nor for many ages have been, any nations guilty of such idolatry, but some corrupt parts of the Christian Church (for neither Jews nor Mohammedans are idolaters, as it is well known): it must follow, that the corrupt and idolatrous parts of the Christian Church are the object of the trumpets.

And, since, withal, after the destruction of the Greek Church, supposed in the former part of this trumpet, the rest of the idolaters are said to be still impenitent and to go on in their idolatries and other wickednesses: this must confine the object of this trumpet, toward its conclusion, to the remainder of the corrupt and idolatrous part of the Christian Church; that is, to the Roman-Catholic countries; for they alone, of all the rest of the Western or Latin Christians, can be suspected of idolatry.

So that, at last, we have a plain determination of the present

5. As the 'four' angels are loosed for the special purpose of destroying the Constantinopolitan Monarchy; so the duration of their freedom for such purposes of extensive mischief, as might well constitute a preëminent woe, is accurately limited to a certain definite prophetic period.*

*And the four angels, who had been prepared unto the appointed season, were loosed during both a day and a month and a year, in order that they might slay the third part of men*¹.

The second woe is evidently produced by the victorious and overbearing liberty of the four angels to do mischief to their Christian neighbours. Consequently, when this liberty is brought to an end, the second woe is also brought to an end. Hence it will follow, that the period of a prophetic day and month and year, which is marked out as the duration of the

anti-christian Beast or Empire, on which the trumpets have already been inflicted, and on which probably the vials are yet to be poured; namely, the Roman-Catholic countries: and they are here, according to our interpretation, directly and formally charged with idolatry by the Holy Ghost. Whiston's Essay on the Rev. par. ii. p. 219.

¹ Rev. ix. 15. The many erroneous versions of this passage have entirely arisen from improper punctuation. I read the original Greek, pointed as follows.

Καὶ ἐλύθησαν οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι, οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς τὴν ὥραν, καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἑνιαυτὸν, ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

The accusatives, ἡμέραν and μῆνα and ἑνιαυτὸν, I consider, as denoting continuance of time, and as depending not upon the preposition εἰς but upon the verb ἐλύθησαν.

liberty to do mischief, must also be the specific duration of the second woe : just as the period of five prophetic months was the specific duration of the first woe.

(1.) In computing the term now before us, there is, antecedently, some degree of uncertainty as to the proper mode of reckoning.

If the prophetic year, in the present passage, be viewed as comprehending 360 prophetic days : then a day and a month and a year will be equal to 391 prophetic days or 391 natural years. But, if, agreeably to the true length of the solar year, it be viewed as comprehending $365\frac{1}{4}$ prophetic days : then a day and a month and a year will be equal to $396\frac{1}{4}$ prophetic days or 396 natural years and 3 months.

The former mode of reckoning is followed by Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Newton : the latter mode is preferred by Mr. Mede and Mr. Whiston.

In favour of the former mode, it may certainly be urged, that the prophetic time or year, in the case of the three times and a half, contains no more than 360 days : whence we are apparently bound to conclude, that the year, in the present passage, ought to be similarly computed. Yet the peculiar phraseology of St. John, which, in this single passage, varies from the ordinary phraseology elsewhere employed both by himself and by Daniel, may well incline us, even antecedently and abstractedly, to adopt the latter mode.

Had the Apostle written *a day and a month and a time* ; analogy would have required us to follow

that short mode of computation, which has been preferred by Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Newton: for no instance occurs, in which the prophetic *time* is ever employed to designate a term of more than 360 prophetic days. But he writes *a day and a month and a YEAR*; employing a word, entirely different from that which he uses when he speaks of the time and times and half time¹: and, for this remarkable and insulated variation from the ordinary language both of himself and of Daniel, I see not what satisfactory reason can be given, save that it was adopted for the purpose of artfully intimating the use of a different mode of computation. If the Apostle had wished to express the sum of 391 calendar years, he would, I think, agreeably to the analogy both of his own predictions and of the kindred predictions of Daniel, have written, not *a day and a month and a YEAR*, but *a day and a month and a TIME*. On the other hand, wishing, as we may reasonably conclude from the fact of his verbal singularity, to express the sum of 396 calendar years and 3 months, he would not write *a day and a month and a TIME*; because such phraseology, from the manner in which it is constantly employed, would *necessarily* have expressed the sum of 391 calendar years only: but, with a marked and apparently studied variation, he wrote *a day and a month and a YEAR*; because this peculiar

¹ In Rev. ix. 15, he uses the word *ἐνιαυτός*: but, in Rev. xii. 14, he employs the word *καίρος*.

and uncommon phraseology *alone* could, consistently with the general phraseology employed both by Daniel and by himself, express the precise sum designed to be expressed.

On these grounds, I incline, even *antecedently*, to the mode of computation, adopted, in this particular instance, by Mr. Mede and Mr. Whiston: at the same time, I admit, that the point can only be *positively* decided by the event.

(2.) Speaking in general terms, we have seen, that the four angels must have been loosed after the Latins had abandoned Syria and Egypt toward the close of the thirteenth century: but this general statement will not enable us to calculate a definite prophetic period. We must either ascertain the precise chronological point of their liberation, or we must relinquish every attempt to reckon the period as utterly hopeless.

If we turn to history, we shall find it perhaps impossible to fix upon any *definite* moment when the Turks first attacked the Roman Empire¹: and,

¹ Bishop Newton would reckon the period from the year 1281, when Ortogrul took the city of Kutahi from the Greeks, on the ground that it is the first recorded conquest of the Turks from the Christians: but, in truth, the very passage, which he quotes from Prince Cantemir, proves that it was *not* the first.

In that year (according to the accurate historian Saadi) Ortogrul crowned his victories with the conquest of the famous city of Kutahi from the Greeks.

Now, if Ortogrul crowned his victories with the conquest of Kutahi; instead of being his *first* conquest, it was evidently one of his *last*. Accordingly, we are told, that, *previous* to this

even if we *could*, it may well be doubted, whether we should do it with any great emolument. One nation, though finally destined to conquer another nation, may yet, in the first instance, only wage war against it in an *ordinary* manner, so as to convey no very clear or distinct idea of its being pre-eminently *a woe*: and it is scarcely credible, that some obscure attack, so obscure as not to merit the notice of history, should be chosen, merely because it *is* the first, as the commencing point of a most minutely defined prophetic period. Hence, I take it, we must look out for some celebrated and strongly marked epoch; to which, with the concurrence of history, we may reasonably ascribe the apocalyptic liberation of the Turcomannic Power.

Now precisely such an epoch is furnished by the commencement of the reign of Othman, the first Khan or Sultan of the united Seljukian and Ottomanic Turks, and the acknowledged founder of that Monarchy which became so terrible a woe to the Roman Empire. His sovereignty began precisely, when, by the recess of the Latins, all effectual restraint was taken off from the rising power of the Turkmans: and the very commencement of his reign was marked by an eminently furious attack upon the eastern provinces of the Constantinopolitan Empire, which henceforth was never remitted (save when Bajazet was vanquished by Timur) un-

crowning acquisition, he had *subdued other countries from the Romans, and had annexed them to Aladdin's Empire*. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xii. p. 10.

til that Empire was finally overthrown. Here, therefore, we have in every respect an unexceptionable date for the liberation of the four angels and for the prophetic commencement of the second great woe.

Unexceptionable, however, as this date is, there is some degree of difficulty in precisely determining the date itself.

Sometimes, Othman is said to have died and to have been succeeded by his son Urchan, in the year of the Hejira 726; at other times, in the year of the Hejira 727¹. Sometimes, too, he is said to have reigned 29 years; sometimes, 28 years; sometimes, 27 years; and, sometimes, 26 years².

These variations arise from the mode of reckoning his reign, combined with the discrepancy as to its termination. For his reign may be computed, either from the death of his father Ortogrul whom he succeeded in the office of generalissimo to the Seljukian Sultan Aladdin; or from his being honoured with the title of *Sultan* in the pulpits of the mosques; or from his being publicly prayed for in that formula, which the Turks denominate *Hutbe*, and which they deem essential to their sovereign's complete inauguration.

¹ Pocock Supplem. Abul-Pharag. p. 43. Zacuth apud Scalig. Can Isag. p. 146. Annal. Turc. p. 5. See Whiston's Essay on the Rev. p. 209, 210; to which I am indebted for these and the subsequent authorities.

² Annal. Turc. p. 5. Mellific. Hist. p. 246, 248. Pocock. Supplem. Abul-Pharag. p. 43. Gibbon's Hist. of Decline, vol. xi. p. 433.

On such principles, his accession has usually been fixed, either to the year 1299, or the year 1300, of the Christian era : because the two Hejiric years 699 and 700 are asserted to coincide with these two Christian years.

But, in this arrangement, a very important matter has been overlooked. The Hejiric year contains only 354 days : and, as no intercalations are used, its twelve lunar months, alternately containing 29 days and 30 days, revolve through all the seasons. Hence it is a very loose way of speaking to say, that any particular Hejiric year corresponds with any particular Christian year : before we attempt to fix a date, we must ascertain *how far* this correspondence takes place.

Now, in the present instance, the Hejiric year 699 commenced, September 27, A.D. 1299 ; and expired, September 16, A.D. 1300 : while, in like manner, the Hejiric year 700 commenced, September 17, A.D. 1300 ; and expired, September 5, A.D. 1301.

Thus it is clear, that, before we can determine the Christian year in which Othman began to reign, we must determine the particular point of the Hejiric year in which that event occurred. This matter, therefore, I shall now attempt to ascertain.

When we find the Turkish Annals fixing the death of Othman to the Hejiric year 727 ; while Noaman, Choja-Aphendi, and Abraham-Zacuth, fix it to the Hejiric year 726 : we are naturally and easily led to reconcile the discrepancy by conclud-

ing, that he must have died either at the end of one year or at the beginning of the other. Such, accordingly, seems to have been the case : for Al-Jannabi and Ahmed-Ebn-Yuseph agree in definitely fixing it to the commencement of the Hejiric year 727¹. The difference, when thus explained, is unimportant : for the real discrepance between the two accounts cannot amount to more than a very few weeks. Here, then, we have a determinate point, from which we may compute backward to the beginning of the reign of Othman.

But still the question is, whether we must ascribe 29 years or 28 years or 27 years or 26 years to the reign itself.

This question will best be solved by the official arrangement of the Turks themselves.

Now the same accurate historians Al-Jannabi and Ahmed-Ebn-Yuseph, who definitely fix the death of Othman to the very commencement of the Hejiric year 727, state also, that the years of his reign were estimated at no more than 26 : and the reason of this official estimation is, that the Turks deem no Sultan legitimately inaugurated, until the *Hutbe* prayers, on a regularly appointed friday, shall have been solemnly offered up for the health and preservation of the new sovereign². It was from

¹ Urchanes autem (consentientibus Al Jannabio et Ahmede) regnare coepit ineunte anno Hejiræ 727. Pocock. Supplem. p. 43.

² Vixisse annos sexaginta novem, viginti sex regnasse, testantur Al-Jannabius et Ahmed-Ebn-Yuseph. Pocock. Supplem. p. 43.

the solemn offering up, then, of the *Hutbe*, that the Turks computed the reign of Othman; styling that year, which immediately followed the commencement of the *Hutbe*, his *first year*: and his reign, when so reckoned (analogously to the universal mode of computing the reigns of all his successors), amounted to 26 years; that is to say, as we may reasonably presume, 26 Turkish years and some few weeks or months, for it rarely happens that a sovereign sits on the throne during a precise term of strict arithmetical years neither more nor less. If, therefore, we reckon backward the 26 years of Othman's reign from the beginning of the Hegiric year 727, to which point the commencement of his successor's reign and therefore his own death is definitely fixed by Al-Jannabi and Ahmed-Ebn-Yuseph; we shall be brought, for the commencement of his reign, either to the beginning of the Hejiric year 701 on the supposition that he reigned *exactly* 26 Turkish years, or to the latter end of the Hejiric year 700 on the more probable supposition that he reigned 26 Turkish years and some few months over and above.

Of these two suppositions, the last, according to what may well be deemed antecedent probability, is the true one; as we learn very curiously from the recorded circumstance, that the Turks reckon the years of Othman from the commencing friday of that greater Bairam which was instituted at the very beginning of his reign: because, on this day, the *Hutbe* began to be authoritatively offered up

for him. The zeal of Dursun-Fakiches had indeed previously offered it up in the town of Caratze-Chisar : but this seems to have been premature and irregular. Hence the Turks make no account of that occurrence : for they reckon the reign of Othman (as I have just observed) from the first friday of the greater Bairam, which was then instituted in the town of Eski-Schehere, and which was marked by the authoritative commencement of the *Hutbe* on behalf of Othman until that time exclusively offered up on behalf of the Seljukian Sultan Aladdin ¹. Now the first friday of the first greater Bairam was the first day of Shawal or the tenth month of the Hejiric year 700 : and that friday fell upon June 9, A. D. 1301.

Here, therefore, we have the precise epoch of the commencement of what the Turks deem the legitimate and official reign of Othman : and it exactly tallies with the very accurate statements of Al-Janabi and Ahmed. They tell us, that Othman died

¹ Hoc quidem constat, postea quam ab Osmane judex et antistes sacrorum factus fuisset ille Dursun-Fakiches, Hutben ab eo primam nomine Osmanis in oppido Caratze-Chisare de suggestu fuisse pronunciatam. Primum vero post initum ab Osmane principatum Bairami festum, quod instar Paschatis Christianorum Musulmani celebrant, institutum fuit in Osmanis oppido Eski-Schehere ; ibidemque tunc Hutbeæ preces etiam pro felicibus Osmani regni auspiciis publicè recitatæ fuerunt. Quapropter ab hoc exordio precum Hutbearum Osmanis nomine conceptarum, quem Turci posthæc Chanem sive Regem suum adpellârunt, scribi deinceps Osmani primus annus imperii cœpit. Leunclav. Hist. Musulman. Co. 1, 151.

at the beginning of the Hejiric year 727, and that he reigned as lawful Sultan 26 of their years. If, then, he died at the beginning of the Hejiric year 727, and if he began to reign on the first day of the tenth month of the Hejiric year 700, he will have reigned somewhat more than 26 Turkish years and 3 months.

But, in thus obtaining the true commencement of the reign of Othman, we obtain also (unless I greatly mistake) the true epoch of the liberation of the four angels, and thence the true epoch of the beginning of the second woe. On the principles, then, which have been stated above, I venture to conclude, that the sixth trumpet, which introduces the second great woe, began to sound on the 9th day of June in the year 1301 of the Christian era.

(3.) Having now obtained the epoch of the commencement of the second woe, we may proceed to calculate the time of its expiration.

The period of its continuance, as we have seen above, is a prophetic day and month and year : and this period, as we have also seen, is abstractedly capable of being estimated as equal, either to 391 natural years, or to 396 natural years and 3 months ; according as we suppose the prophetic year, specified in the prediction, to contain 360 prophetic days or 365 prophetic days and a quarter.

According, then, to the shorter mode of computation, if, from June 9, A. D. 1301, we reckon 391 natural years ; we shall be brought to the corresponding point of June 9, A. D. 1692, as the epoch

of the expiration of the second woe. ' But this year, occurring as it does in the midst of a bloody campaign between the Türks and the Austrians, when nothing decisive of the final result had as yet taken place, presents no event which can reasonably be set down as marking a grand prophetic epoch. Hence, if we have obtained the true date of the commencement of the second woe, it will clearly enough follow, that the shorter mode of computation cannot but be erroneous.

On the other hand, according to the longer mode of computation, which has been preferred and adopted by Mede and Whiston, and which by the peculiarity of his language seems to be pointed out by St. John himself: if, from June 9, A.D. 1301, we reckon 396 natural years and 3 months; we shall be brought to Sep. 9, A.D. 1697, as the epoch of the expiration of the second woe. Now, at this very time, with an accuracy which varies only a few days from absolutely strict mathematical exactness, had been fought that great battle, which finally broke the power of Turkey and which stripped it of its characteristic of being a victorious woe to Christendom. On the 1st of September A.D. 1697 old style, or on the 11th of September A.D. 1697 new style, victory attended upon Prince Eugene in the field of Zenta: and, from that time to this, Turkey has been gradually sinking deeper and deeper into a state of hopeless decrepitude. Respecting this remarkable coincidence of historical fact and numerical prophecy, I may fitly observe,

that the sum of a day and a month and a year, estimated as equal to 396 solar years and 3 months, comes the nearest to mathematical precision of any sum which could have been devised : for the day and the month and the year of the prediction before us, when calculated from the commencement of the reign of Othman to the fatal battle of Zenta, fall short of 396 calendar years and a quarter only by about a single week.

(4.) It may not be uninteresting to give a brief summary of the occurrences, which marked this eventful period.

In the year 1683, the Turks had certainly not ceased to be a woe to the Roman Empire : for, after overrunning Hungary, they were then actually besieging Vienna the capital of the existing representative of the Regal or Romano-Imperial head of the ten-horned wild-beast. But their affairs were destined shortly to experience an ebb. After they were compelled to retire from before Vienna by the arms of John Sobieski, a rapid series of disasters marked the now commencing decline of their Empire. *The progress of the Imperialists was promoted by the number of enemies, which the court of Vienna succeeded in raising up against them. The Venetians, who had joined the alliance between the Emperor and Poland, conquered the Morea with the adjacent parts of Greece and the coast of Dalmatia : the king of Poland was induced to resume hostilities, and succoured the house of Austria by a powerful diversion : and*

even Russia, won by the cession of the sovereignty over the Cossacs, heightened the distresses of the Porte by an invasion of the Crimea. The effects of these diversions and of the pacification of Hungary were the total defeat of Tekeli and repeated discomfitures of the Turks; the subjugation of the whole country as far as the Save; the reduction of Belgrade, Orsova, and Widdin; and even the conquest of Servia and Bosnia, Erlau was recovered, together with the neighbouring districts of Hungary: the Prince of Transylvania renounced his connection with the Turks, and received imperial garrisons in his fortresses: even the natives of Wallachia offered their submission: and, before the close of the year 1689, Great Waradin and Temeswar were all which remained of the extensive possessions so long occupied by the Infidels to the north of the Danube.

By these disasters, the Turkish Empire was shaken to its very foundations: the Ottoman pride was humbled by accumulated calamities: and the Sultan proved the distresses of his situation, by repeated and pressing instances for peace. Leopold, on his side, elated by success, with no less imprudence than haughtiness, required such exorbitant concessions, as indicated a resolution to drive the Turks from Europe: and thus unfortunately afforded the French monarch an opportunity to revive the drooping spirits of the Ottoman court, while, by an irruption into the Em-

pire, he drew a considerable part of the Austrian forces from their conquests on the side of Hungary.

The effects of this diversion were soon manifest. As Leopold could not pursue the war with the same vigour as before in Hungary, the splendour of the Ottoman arms was for a time restored by the new Grand Vizir. He collected a numerous army; reëstablished discipline; recaptured Semendria, Widdin, and Belgrade; and recovered the provinces beyond the Danube. At the same time, Tekeli, with a Turkish force, burst into Transylvania. Joined by tumultuary hordes from the neighbouring provinces, he declared himself Prince by the authority of the Porte; defeated the united Imperialists and Transylvanians; captured General Heusler with other Austrian officers; confined Abaffy almost to the walls of Clagenfurth; and extorted the homage of the States.

A month, however, scarcely elapsed before the Margrave of Baden, in the summer of the year 1690, leaving the Danubian provinces to their fate, forced the passes of Transylvania; surprised and drove Tekeli into Moldavia; and, with the consent of the States, reinstated Abaffy. Having intrusted the defence of Transylvania to General Veterani and the government to a provisional regency, he maintained this administration itself until the conclusion of the war, in opposition to the combined efforts of the Turks and

Tekeli. Notwithstanding the vast superiority of the enemy, who in the ensuing year again poured into Hungary to the number of 100,000 men, the Imperialists recovered Sclavonia: and the Margrave of Baden, on the 19th of August 1691, once more delivered Hungary by the splendid victory at Salankamen, where 20,000 Turks were left on the field, and the Vizir himself was among the slain—The Generals La Croix and Caprara employed the three ensuing campaigns in reducing the Five Churches, Great Waradin, and Giula. The two following years, Augustus Elector of Saxony, at the head of the Imperialists, was opposed to the new Sultan Mustapha, who commanded his army in person: and, though he had the mortification to witness the defeat of 7000 men under General Veterani and to suffer considerable loss at the doubtful battle of Olatz on the 26th of August 1696, he awed the Turks by his firmness and decision; and the success of the Sultan only produced the recapture of Titul and Lippa, Lagos and Caransebes.

The campaign of 1697 bore a far different aspect. As the neutrality of Italy enabled Leopold to draw new forces into Hungary, the most active preparations were made by the Turks, as well as by the Imperialists, for a vigorous contest. An insurrection excited in upper Hungary by the adherents of Tekeli, who took Tokay and Bazar, drew the two armies into the field at an early period. The Turks were again led

by their Sultan; the Imperialists, by Prince Eugene of Savoy; who was now, for the first time, placed at the head of an army. The Sultan, collecting his forces at Belgrade, took Titul by storm, and threatened Peterwaradin: but, on the approach of the imperial General, who had sent detachments to reduce the rebels and who strengthened himself with reinforcements from Transylvania, he suddenly crossed the Danube, and ascended the Teiss with the intention of surprising Segedin and of subjugating upper Hungary or Transylvania. Eugene, however, instantly threw a garrison into Segedin, and followed the movements of the enemy. Learning from his parties, that the Turks had abandoned their design on Segedin and were crossing the Teiss at Zenta over a temporary bridge, he hastened to attack one part of their army while separated from the other. On the 11th of September; his army advanced in twelve columns: and, by four in the afternoon, it was formed in sight of the enemy; the flank supported on the Teiss, the right stretching into the country. As the Turkish cavalry had already passed, and as the day was rapidly declining; he did not hesitate to commence the attack, although their bridge was covered by a triple entrenchment defended with seventy pieces of artillery. Having reconnoitred the disposition of the enemy, he bent his army into the form of a crescent, to embrace the works; strengthened the flanks with bodies of

cavalry and cannon ; turned several pieces of artillery against the bridge, to prevent the Turkish horse from repassing to the assistance of the infantry ; and attacked the entrenchments, in every quarter, at the same moment. The assault was made with a vigour and promptitude, which surprised even the commander himself. The cavalry accompanied and supported the infantry, to the very foot of the lines ; and formed a passage, by filling the ditch with the dead. The enemy, surprised by this sudden and desperate assault, hastened their defeat by their own terror and confusion. Numbers rushed tumultuously to gain the opposite bank ; forced their way through a body of cavalry, which was drawn up to prevent them from deserting their post ; and, in a paroxysm of terror and despair, massacred the Vizir and many of the principal officers. In the midst of this confusion and dismay, the Imperialists successively carried the entrenchments. While those, who had first effected an opening, cut off the fugitives from their bridge ; the others pressed on them in front : and, when they were driven from their last rampart, a carnage ensued which baffles description. The soldiers, heated by the fury of the attack, fell on the terrified and defenceless multitude ; and put all to the sword, not sparing even the Bashas, who supplicated for mercy and held out rich jewels and purses of gold for their ransom. Above 10,000 were killed : numbers were preci-

pitated into the Teiss : and of 30,000, who had not crossed the river, scarcely one thousand escaped alive. This complete victory, which cost only 500 men, was gained within the short space of two hours : and, to use the emphatic expression of the heroic commander, the sun seemed to linger on the horizon to gild with his last rays the victorious standards of Austria.

The Ottomans were now completely humbled : and, what was gained by the sword, was immediately afterward ratified by the pen. *Plenipotentiaries were assembled, on the 14th of November 1697, from all the Powers in alliance against the Porte : the negotiations were conducted under the mediation of England and Holland : and, in little more than two months, a general accommodation was effected.*

The peace of Carlowitz forms a memorable era in the history of the House of Austria and of Europe. Leopold secured Hungary and Sclavonia, which for a period of almost two hundred years had been occupied by the Turks ; and consolidated his Empire by the important acquisition of Transylvania. At the same time, the Sultans lost nearly half their possessions in Europe : and, from this diminution of territorial sovereignty, the Ottoman Power, which once threatened universal subjugation, CEASED TO BE FORMIDABLE TO CHRISTENDOM¹.

¹ Coxe's Hist. of the House of Austr. vol. iii. chap. 66. p. 394—403.

Such is the language of history, adopting undesignedly as its own almost the very words of prophecy. From the fatal battle of Zenta, the Turks may be said to have run an almost uninterrupted course of adversity : and, after accumulating loss upon loss, so far from being any longer a victorious and overbearing woe to the Roman Empire, they, who *once threatened universal subjugation*, now precariously subsist, rather by the jealous sufferance of their powerful neighbours who apparently find it difficult to arrange a satisfactory scheme of partition, than by any principle of native and inherent vigour.

(5.) Plausible, however, as the foregoing arrangement may be, it cannot be adopted unless it shall be found to quadrate with certain other prophetic marks which indicate and attend upon the passing away of the second woe.

We are taught, that, immediately before its expiration, the two apocalyptic witnesses are 'slain ; that they lie dead, during the space of three prophetic days and a half ; that they are restored to life at the close of that term ; and that they finally ascend to heaven in a cloud, before the very eyes of their enemies. We are further taught, that, synchronically with these remarkable events, a great earthquake, or a great political revolution, takes place ; which overthrows the tenth part of the mystical Babylon, or which ultimately subverts the ecclesiastical dominance of Rome in some one of the ten Gothico-Roman kingdoms. Then it is added :

*The second woe is past ; behold, the third woe cometh quickly*¹.

From this statement it is evident, that, if the second woe *really* passed away, on the 11th of September 1697, through the agency of the battle of Zenta ; the circumstances, which have been just enumerated, must have occurred *immediately before* that epoch. Hence, if no such occurrence can be shewn, it will be quite clear, that the whole of the foregoing arrangement is nugatory and untenable.

The prophetic history of the two witnesses will, in its own proper place, be discussed at large hereafter². I shall, therefore, at present, in order that the preceding discussion may be satisfactorily closed, do nothing more than briefly state, that every one of the circumstances in question occurred exactly at the time required by my proposed chronological arrangement of the second woe-trumpet.

At the end of January in the year 1686, the two ancient witnessing Churches of the united Vallenses and Albigenses, which had never submitted to the thraldom of the papal yoke, and which therefore were not *reformed* Churches in any such sense as the national Churches of England or Denmark or Sweden, were politically slain in their corporate capacity of visibly subsisting communities.

In the year 1688, occurred that great earth-

¹ Rev. xi. 7—14.

² See below book v. chap. 2.

quake or political revolution, which ultimately subverted the authority of the Papal Church in the Roman kingdom of England, after a strenuous effort had been made to establish it in all its ancient plenitude of power.

In the middle of August in the year 1689, or exactly three natural years and a half after ~~their~~ ecclesiastical slaughter, the two witnessing united Churches were unexpectedly restored to ecclesiastical life.

In the year 1690, by an edict of the Duke of Savoy, they were called up, however reluctantly on the part of the Piedmontese government, to the allegorical heaven of a legal establishment and a full distinct recognition.

Finally, when all these matters had been accomplished, and when the fated day and month and year had expired with a precision almost mathematical : on the 1st of September old style, or on the 11th of September new style, in the year 1697, the victory at Zenta crushed for ever the lordly dominance of the Ottoman Power ; and the second great woe, of which it had been the appointed minister, passed away.

Such coincidences are, I think, too remarkable to be the effect of what is vulgarly called *accident* : they seem to prove, with as much evidence as the nature of the case admits, that the preceding arrangement of the prophetic day and month and year is valid and correct.

I conclude, therefore, that the assigned duration

of the second woe is 396 solar years and 3 months ; that this period commenced with the accession of Othman, on the 9th of June 1301 ; and that it expired with the battle of Zenta, on the 1st of September 1697 old style, or on the 11th of September 1697 new style.

ERRATA.

- Page 4, line 12 note. For *Kaliage* read *Kali age*.
18, — 10. Insert the reference ¹ after *Scythia*.
134, — 1 note. Insert *of* after *symbol*.
210, — 7. For *strongly* read *clearly*.
229, — 24. For *Jocobinism*, read *Jacobinism*.
232, — 3. For *developement*, read *development*.
266, — 19. For *Lepeux's*, read *Lepaux's*.
394, — 17. For *locust*, read *locusts*.
401, — 4. For *overrun*, read *overran*.
413, — 28. For *Kashjar*, read *Kashgar*.
433, — 9. For the comma after *Bosnia*, supply a period.

